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Archaeological and Natural History  
MAGAZINE,

Published under the Direction of the Society

FORMED IN THAT COUNTY, A.D. 1853.

VOL. XXI.



DEVIZES:  
H. F. BULL, 4, SAINT JOHN STREET.

1884.

THE EDITOR of the *Wiltshire Magazine* desires that it should be distinctly understood that neither he nor the Committee of the *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society* hold themselves in any way answerable for any statements or opinions expressed in the Magazine; for all of which the Authors of the several papers and communications are alone responsible.

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No. LXI.

AUGUST, 1883.

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OF THE

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## NOTICE TO MEMBERS.

Members who have not paid their Subscriptions to the Society *for the current year*, are requested to remit the same forthwith to the Financial Secretary, Mr. WILLIAM NOTT, 15, High Street, Devizes, to whom also all communications as to the supply of Magazines should be addressed, and of whom most of the back Numbers may be had.

The Numbers of this Magazine will not be delivered, as issued, to Members who are in arrear of their Annual Subscriptions, and who on being applied to for payment of such arrears, have taken no notice of the application.

All other communications to be addressed to the Honorary Secretaries: the Rev. A. C. SMITH, Yatesbury Rectory, Calne; and H. E. MEDLICOTT, Esq., Sandfield, Potterne, Devizes.

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The Rev. A. C. SMITH will be much obliged to observers of birds in all parts of the county, to forward to him notices of rare occurrences, early arrivals of migrants, or any remarkable facts connected with birds, which may come under their notice.


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*To be published by the Wiltshire Archeological and Natural History Society, by Subscription.*

# THE FLORA OF WILTS.

BY THE REV. T. A. PRESTON, M.A.

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 *Farther particulars will shortly be sent by circular to Members of the Society.*

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The Author will be glad if any who could assist him with a list of plants in their several localities would kindly communicate with him. Early information is particularly desired. Address—Rev. T. A. PRESTON, *The Green, Marlborough.*

THE

# WILTSHIRE

## Archæological and Natural History

# MAGAZINE.

No. LXI.

AUGUST, 1883.

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### DEVIZES:

H. F. BULL, 4, SAINT JOHN STREET.



THE  
WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

“MULTORUM MANIBUS GRANDE LEVATUR ONUS.”—*Ovid.*

THE TWENTY-EIGHTH GENERAL MEETING

OF THE

Wiltshire Archæological & Natural History Society,

HELD AT MALMESBURY,

Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, August 2nd, 3rd, and 4th,  
1882.

PRESIDENT OF THE MEETING,

THE RIGHT HON. LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE, M.P.

**T**HE proceedings of the Twenty-eighth General Meeting<sup>1</sup> of the Society, were opened at the Town Hall, Malmesbury, by the President of the Society, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, taking the chair, and expressing on behalf of several gentlemen who had written to him their regret, at their inability to be present: one of these gentlemen was Sir John Lubbock, to whom, he need hardly remind them, they owed a deep debt of gratitude, for the steps he took some years ago, in regard to those great monuments, Abury and Silbury Hill, of which he was in great measure now the proprietor, thereby practically rescuing the former of those monuments from the danger with which it was threatened: but, Sir John was also a man of world-wide antiquarian and scientific reputation. Other gentlemen who desired him to apologize for their absence on the ground of their being detained in London by their parliamentary duties, were Mr. Story Maskelyne, Mr. Long, and Mr. Estcourt.

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<sup>1</sup> In preparing the following account of the Malmesbury Meeting the Editor desires to acknowledge his obligations to the Editors of the *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette*, the *Wilts and Gloucester Standard*, and the *Wiltshire Times and Trowbridge Advertiser*.



He would now call upon the Secretary, REV. A. C. SMITH, to read the

### REPORT.

“The Committee of the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society, again desires to report a summary of the Society’s proceedings during the past year.

“Your Committee has to lament the decease of an unusual number of old and valued members during the past twelvemonths. Amongst these should be specially mentioned Mr. R. P. Nisbet, of Southbroom House, Devizes; Mr. G. W. Anstie, of Devizes; Sir F. Bathurst, and the Rev. J. N. Peill, all of whom were original subscribers. Also Major Calley, of Burderop, and Mr. T. E. Fowle, of Chute Lodge, who became members in 1854 and 1855 respectively. There are also losses of other members who have joined the Society at a later period; as well as the resignation of others under the pressure of hard times. On the other hand, and in some degree to counterbalance these losses, have been enrolled twenty-one new members during the year, the result being that there are now on the books of the Society 380 members, being a very slight decrease since this time last year.

“In regard to *Finance*, the balance-sheet shows a slight improvement with respect to funds in hand since last year’s report, and this is mainly attributable to the handsome sum passed over to the credit of the Society at the close of the annual meeting at Bradford, in 1881. It must not however be supposed that the Society’s income is in excess of its expenditure; on the contrary, it cannot be too generally published that its operations are oftentimes considerably hindered by a lack of adequate funds at its command. It should not be omitted to mention with gratitude that a donation of £2 was made to the funds of the Society by Mr. William Brown, Mayor of the Borough of Devizes, for the year ending November 9th, 1881.

“In regard to the literary work of the Society, two more numbers of the *Magazine* have been issued in the course of the year, which it is hoped are not inferior in interest to their predecessors. The sixtieth number, concluding the twentieth volume, is now in course of preparation. The Society has also decided on the immediate publication

by subscription, of handbooks on the various branches of Natural History of the County; the first of which (already advanced in preparation) will be the 'Flora of Wilts,' by the Rev. T. A. Preston, to be followed by others of a similar character as may seem desirable.

"Your Committee has also to report some successful explorations afield by means of the crowbar and spade. These were carried on at Abury last autumn, and resulted in the discovery of eighteen large Sarsen stones buried beneath the turf of the meadow, sixteen of which belonged to the outer circle, and two to the Northern Temple. Also at Winterbourne Bassett, the five stones above ground, which alone remained to mark the site of the double circle which once stood there, have been re-inforced by the discovery of nine others buried beneath the surface. Also on Overton Hill, in February last, the stone chamber within one of the large barrows was removed from agricultural exigencies, and a fine skeleton and a rude urn, now in the Society's Museum, were exhumed.

"The Library and Museum of the Society have been enriched by sundry contributions from various donors. Especial mention should be made of the very handsome donation of coins (several of them gold), medals, tokens and seals; as well as an original miniature of Charles I., a very ancient watch in wooden case, and many other curiosities, given by Miss Fanny Lucas, and collected by her father, the well-known Wiltshire antiquary, the late Rev. Charles Lucas, of Devizes. We must also again call attention to the great liberality of the 'Westbury Iron Company,' by whose kindness we have received very many additional objects of Roman and Roman British times. Indeed our Museum now contains a very valuable collection of antiquities of that period, chiefly derived from the Westbury Iron Works.

"It only remains to thank all who have in any way helped forward our labours during the past year; and again to entreat the co-operation of all who take any interest in the Antiquities or the Natural History of our County."

EARL NELSON, one of the vice-presidents, in moving the adoption of the report, said that, fortunately, he was at the present time paying a visit to his son at Cole Park, and he was very pleased to find

that his visit coincided with the meeting of the Wiltshire Archæological Society, over which he was afraid to say how many years back he had the privilege of presiding for three years. There was another reason why he was particularly pleased to come to Malmesbury with the archæologists, and that was because two years ago when he was president of the British Archæological Society's meeting at Devizes, the only excursion he missed was the excursion to Malmesbury. He unfortunately had other business which prevented him joining the party that went from Devizes on that occasion. He was very glad that the Wilts Archæological Society should have come to Malmesbury again, for he believed it had not been there for 20 years. As to the report, though they had lost some of their old original Members, which was a thing of course as time went on which they must naturally expect, it was a subject of congratulation that they had twenty new Members to record. And then their finances had improved ; and he thought the statement of the discoveries that had been made at Abury and at Winterbourne, where other stones had been discovered by digging, showed the importance of such county Societies as theirs. He had from the very first been a Member of the Society, and had read that very interesting publication which had been alluded to, and which he was glad to say was approaching its sixtieth number, which concluded the twentieth volume. When he considered the intensely interesting matter which was contained in those volumes, not only respecting archæology, but as regarded the natural history of the county, and the valuable materials that were contributed to the history, as well as the archæology of the county, particularly in the papers of Canon Jackson, which were the result of his researches at Longleat, he felt that he always rose from reading those publications with a sense of the importance of such a local association as theirs, in accumulating materials for the history of our county. He was convinced that there was a great deal more that could be done in the way in which Canon Jackson had been employed at Longleat, amongst other libraries and records even in the county of Wilts, and he thoroughly commended to those who had not joined the Society the importance of doing so, for it was doing a great work in elucidating the history of



the county; and if they only took the trouble, as he did sometimes, to look over the history of Sir R. Colt Hoare, and considered the additions to the history of the county that had been made by the exertions of their Society, and how vastly more complete that history had been made, they would realize the importance of such an association.

The Rev. G. WINDSOR TUCKER, Vicar of Malmesbury, in seconding the motion, said that though he did not know much of the operations of the Society yet he was able on behalf of the inhabitants of the borough of Malmesbury and the neighbourhood generally, to assure a hearty welcome to all the Members of the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society.

The Report having been adopted, MR. RAVENHILL, proposed that the officers of the Society—General Secretaries, Curators, Local Secretaries, and Committee—be re-elected. They had heard the work which had been done, and when they knew that both their Secretaries were in such good health that they had been able to work with the spade and the crow-bar as they had done in the past year, and that they were still able to place before the Society the various papers and facts that had to be presented, he was sure they would have no hesitation in saying that these gentlemen ought to be re-elected, with the best thanks of the Society to them for the valuable services they had rendered.

The Rev. CANON JONES, seconded the resolution, remarking that no doubt their officers would work as well in the future as they had in the past.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

The Rev. A. C. SMITH said that, as a rider to the last motion, he would propose that two names be added to the list of Vice-Presidents. He was sorry it had not been done before, for he had intended to nominate them last year if it had not slipped his memory: he referred to Canon Jones and Mr. Talbot, both of whom had done good work for the Society for many years. He need not tell them what Canon Jones had done for them, because they had only to look at the *Magazine*; and those present at Bradford last year would recollect how he was the very life and soul of the meeting. Then

Mr. Talbot—who had been his brother Secretary, and would be so now but that unfortunately, his health was not so good as could be wished—had also done much for the Society, and they owed him a debt of gratitude which they could appropriately acknowledge by electing him also a Vice-President of the Society. He also proposed the addition to the Committee of the name of the Rev. Edward Goddard, of Hilmarton, as one who would ably fill the vacancy now existing, and do good work for the Society.

Mr. MEDLICOTT seconded the propositions, and they were carried unanimously.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE, M.P., as President of the Meeting then delivered his

### INAUGURAL ADDRESS,

#### “THE ORIGIN OF AN ENGLISH COUNTY.”

This is a Meeting of the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Association. At first sight the union of two such subjects as Natural history and Archæology may seem incongruous; but I think a moment's reflection will dispel any prejudice on that head. Archæology is after all only another name for history, for without it history could not be written; but the oldest history itself insensibly fades off into a time when man either did not exist, or, if he did exist, left no records behind him, and the only history of which we can take any cognizance at all is consequently the history of nature: the history of the mountain and of the forest; of the wild beast, and of the mute creation amongst which the wild beast moved. But though this is so, our Society is no doubt mainly concerned with the records of man and his work: with the chronicle whereby the monk, toiling in cloisters now crumbling into dust, sought to rescue the events of his time from total oblivion; with the buildings, whether ecclesiastical or secular, in which each succeeding age embodied its ambitions, its aspirations, and its hopes; with the canvass upon which the skill of the painter had impressed the likeness of the men who themselves had impressed their character on the times in which they lived. But here this consideration arises. We are not the British Archæological Association

—we had the pleasure of welcoming that body two years ago—ours is a County Society. We are specially concerned with the records and history of this County, and the question at once suggests itself, what is a County, and why should we have a County Society? Now it may be said we have County histories and they will give us the answer. We have the monumental work of Sir Richard Colt Hoare, unfortunately incomplete; we have Aubrey, with his interpreter Canon Jackson; and we have John Britton's History of Wiltshire. But all these works are not exactly histories in the sense generally attached to that word. History as a rule implies a beginning, a middle, and an end, though the end is constantly receding; it presupposes a certain continuity in the subject, and a certain method in the treatment of it by the author. But none of these books, however valuable, are, or indeed claim to be, histories in the sense I have indicated. Sir Richard Colt Hoare's work is an account of the different Hundreds, one by one. The other two books I have mentioned are arranged on a parochial basis, or mainly so. They do not treat the county as a whole, or in the order of time, and, therefore, they are not County histories in the true sense of the word "history." They are rather materials for history: materials it is true of the most valuable kind, and without which a real history would be absolutely impossible. But it may be asked is a County history, on true historical lines, really possible? I think it is. At present indeed we only know a County as a unit for certain purposes of civil administration and political organization, as sending members to Parliament, as imposing rates, and so on; while increased facilities of communication are tending more and more to level down any peculiar characteristics which still survive to mark off one County in England from another, whether in speech, or in ideas, or in customs. And therefore it will probably be very difficult for the archæologists of the future, when we are the dust out of which the future generations will be made, and are become ourselves the objects of antiquarian research, to attach any very distinct ideas, social or political, to the separate counties of England, so as to mark them off one from the other, and to be able to say that in our time any particular County had a separate life and development of its own

to which an individual character could be attributed. But on the other hand the further you get back the truer does the converse of this proposition become, till in our own case we arrive at a period when this County was simply the territory which a particular West Saxon tribe had occupied, forming an Under-Kingdom, which ultimately was made a separate *scir* or shire, and later on came to be called a County. The history of Wiltshire begins in fact with the period when our victorious Teutonic ancestors, the Wilsctas, expelled the Celtic inhabitants and established here the outposts of the West Saxon Kingdom. I say the "outposts," for although the capital was at Winchester, it was around these North Wiltshire downs that the great military struggles for supremacy in Southern England took place, and on their possession more than once did it depend whether this country was to be Saxon or British, and later on whether or no the Danes were to supplant the English. And here the student of geography would make his voice heard in order to point out how much the course of history depends on the great natural features of a country. It needs no reflection to understand that the possession of a district in which the head waters of the rivers flowing into the German Ocean, the Channel, and the Severn respectively, can be reached in a hard day's ride, must always have been a matter of vital importance to any invader desiring to hold Southern England. The history of this county began then with the settlements of a conquering Saxon tribe by the stream which the Britons called Guilou—the clear stream—and we the Wily, around the town of Wilton. Southern Wiltshire is in fact older than Northern Wiltshire. The tribe in question came to be called the Wilsctas, and the district around, Wilset. Their conquests were difficult and slowly made. It was up the valley of the Itchen, between the two great forests, the relics of which are still with us in the New Forest and the forest of the Sussex Weald, that the Saxons, leaving North Germany, struck into Southern England. They took Winchester, it would seem, with comparative ease, but their first advance upon Wiltshire was for a time decisively checked by the great victory which tradition asserts to have been gained somewhere in the second decade of the sixth century by King Arthur at Mount Badon, a

spot identified with Badbury in Dorsetshire, by that eminent authority the late Dr. Guest; a victory which you recollect is commemorated in the well-known lines of the Poet Laureate in "Elaine," where he introduces Launcelot celebrating the successive victories of his King. "The border line of Hampshire to the west," says Mr. J. R. Green in his recent work, "The Making of England," "still marks the point at which the Gewissas or West Saxons, were arrested by this overthrow." It was not till 552 A.D. that the great British entrenchment at Old Sarum was taken, and then the invaders became masters of the whole course of the South Wiltshire Avon, of Salisbury Plain, of the course of the Wily, and the land up to Mere, the name of which is itself the monument of the limits for a considerable period of their conquests to the West. Then the tide turned to the North. Verlucio and Cunetio fell, and the possession of the North Wiltshire Downs became the object of the struggle. The great earthworks which crown the Marlborough Downs and look over the Vales of Pewsey and the White Horse are the monuments of those struggles. The probability is that the summits of the hills in that neighbourhood were a vast British camp of refuge, something like the Turkoman camp of Geok Tepe, captured the other day by the Russians. Men, women and children, and cattle and household goods, would all alike have been collected there for safety in a time of danger. The last defence was probably desperate, the line of retreat being cut off; for the Saxon attack was most likely delivered from both sides at once, from the Vale of Pewsey and from the Vale of White Horse. This supposition, too, would go far to account for what is the most remarkable fact in the English conquest of this island, viz., the disappearance in a great measure of the British population. I imagine the slaughter upon those hills was immense, considering what the total population of the country could have been at the time. "In 491, *Ælle* and *Cissa* beset *Anderida*"—the modern Pevensy—says the old chronicler, "and slew all that were therein, nor was there afterwards one Briton left." If the old chronicler had known the facts, he would probably have had to write an almost equally grim epitaph on the defenders of the old hill forts at Badbury. And here it may be

worth while to observe that the antagonists of the Saxons consisted of two very different bodies: there were, first, the citizens of the walled Romano-British towns, such as Calleva, the modern Silchester; Cunetio, our own Marlborough; and Verlucio, the site of which was near Calne: towns in which much of the old civilization had remained, and which themselves the objects of the hostility of the native tribes, ever since the withdrawal of the Romans, had been rapidly relapsing into complete barbarism. Both alike were, however, now threatened with a common overthrow by the new invader, and the deeds of King Arthur and the more real figure of Aurelius Ambrosius, are the legendary embodiment of the attempts of some native king, superior in energy and attainments to his fellows, to unite these scattered and discordant elements in an effective resistance.

Now I have got as far as this, that before the end of the sixth century Southern and Central Wiltshire were in Saxon hands. You may think that the conquest of the remainder, when once the Northern Downs were in the hands of the invader, must have been easy work. But it was not so. North-west Wiltshire was at that time a huge mass of tangled forest and marsh. Blackmore, Pewsham, Braden, Selwood, are names we all know, though all reality has departed from them. But then they existed, and therefore our ancestors, for nearly a century after the events I have described, pushed east and south, but not north and west, and even after they had occupied the Cotswolds, they shunned the dense forests below, which for a long time separated their possessions from each other like a huge wedge. It appears that it was the loss of much of their eastern possessions to rival Anglian tribes, more than any other event, which ultimately induced the Saxons to master, as some compensation, this inhospitable tract, the conquest of which is of peculiar interest to this meeting owing to its bearing on the town where we are. I borrow the account from the pages of Mr. J. R. Green. "Barred from any further advance to the north, they saw even their progress westward threatened by the presence of Mercia on the lower Avon; and it was as much to preserve their one remaining field of conquest as to compensate for the retreat of their frontier in other quarters that Cenwealh marched on this northernmost fastness of Dyrnaint.

In 652, a battle at Bradford, on the Avon, made the forest tract his own, while a fresh fight with the Welsh, six years later, in 658, at a place called Pens, cleared them from the ground along the upper Parrett. It must have been soon after this conquest, that Maidulf, an Irish scholar monk, set up his heritage in the forest tract which had been torn from the Britons, and drew around him the first scholars of Wessex. Ealdhelm, as we have seen, was the most famous outcome of this school; but he no sooner succeeded Maidulf as abbot of the little township which was growing up round that teacher's school and church—and which still preserves his memory in its name of 'Maidulf burh,' or Malmesbury,—than he became a centre, not only of intellectual, but of religious and industrial activity in its neighbourhood. In the heart of the great woodland which stretched from Malmesbury to the Channel, he planted four new germs of social life in the monasteries which he established at Bradford, on the Avon; at Frome, on the little river which bears that name; at Sherborne, on the borders of the forest country through which the Dorsætas must have been still at this time pushing their way; and at Wareham, on the coast beside Poole—a point which shows that these invaders had already advanced at least thus far towards the west. The churches he raised at these spots are noteworthy as the first instances of building which we meet with in Wessex, but they had nothing of the rudeness of early works; architecturally, indeed, they were superior to the famous churches which Benedict Biscope was raising at this time by the banks of the Wear. So masterly was their construction, that Ealdhelm's churches at Malmesbury and Sherborne were the only churches of this early time that were spared by the Norman architects after the Conquest; while the church which he erected on the scene of Cenwealh's victory at Bradford-on-Avon stands in almost perfect preservation to-day."<sup>1</sup> It may be presumed, from the name of Wilset having

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<sup>1</sup> "Making of England," page 340. The author of this work has quite recently been lost to literature by death. I am glad to have this opportunity, in the pages of a magazine devoted to the subjects in the knowledge of which he was pre-eminent, of expressing my sense of the loss which archæology has thereby

been extended northward into the valley of the Somersetshire Avon, that the same tribes or families which had settled in the valleys of the Southern Avon, the Nadder and the Wily, were those who bore the most prominent part in the northern conquest, and that the boundaries of what we call Wiltshire thus came to be gradually established, first, probably in the reign of Ine, the lawgiver, and finally, in the time of Alfred, according to the tradition preserved by the Wiltshire historian, William of Malmesbury, after the final repulse of the Danes from Southern England: a repulse determined by a great battle fought on the skirts of the North Wiltshire Downs, upon much the same ground as that where the final struggle between the Saxon and the Celt had before been determined, whatever the exact site may have been. Thus, in the case of Wiltshire, and it may be added, in the case of four of the other shires carved out of the old West Saxon Kingdom, viz., Somersetshire, Devonshire, Berkshire and Dorsetshire, we find the limits of the county determined by the settlements of invading tribes, and not grouped around any town bearing a cognate name. Indeed, Berkshire and Devonshire have no cognate town at all, while Somerset and Dorset, which have cognate towns, are not called after them. On the other hand, it would appear that in the case of Wiltshire, as of Hampshire, although the county was not grouped around the town, nevertheless the county was named after it, and Mr. Freeman accounts in this manner for the *t* in the modern form "Wiltshire." The case of the counties north of the Thames and in central England generally, was widely different. The Danish invasion destroyed the old divisions, and after the Danish conquest the land was divided again either by the Danish rulers, or again at a later date by the English Kings after the re-conquest, and the counties being mere administrative divisions were always grouped round a central town.

Such, then, is our county in its origin, an old Saxon Under-Kingdom gradually becoming an administrative division of the great

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sustained. It was the special merit of Mr. J. R. Green, to have popularized the study, and to have brought home to many the comprehension of the fact that without archæology true history could not be written.



English Kingdom, of which the old West Saxon Kingdom is now itself a part. You will see that when George III. talked at his accession about having been born and bred a Briton he was talking nonsense, but that if he had said that born an Hanoverian German he was closely allied by birth to the people whom he was called to govern, he would have said something worth listening to. To follow out the fortunes of this old Teutonic shire through the successive phases of English history, to examine its customs, its land tenures and buildings, to ascertain what men it produced, and to follow out what contributions they individually made to the successive struggles by which English liberty in Church and State was won, and the three kingdoms were welded into a united whole, would be no useless or unworthy task. But time fails. For to-day it is enough to have seen how our ancestors got here. *Omne solum forti patria*, "the brave man is at home everywhere," was the motto which General Ludlow, the Wiltshire champion of the Parliamentary cause in the 17th century, inscribed over the door of the humble mansion above the shores of the Lake of Geneva, where, the victim of political ostracism, he had taken refuge in the evening of life from the dagger of hireling assassins. The thoughtful care of a descendant has piously removed the inscription from the house to find it a more fitting place among the abodes of his own people; but while praising the deed, we at least do not require the inscription to remind us that the descendants of the old Saxon settlers by the Wily have ever been able to speak with their enemies in the gate, and that Wiltshire would have no need to be ashamed of them or their deeds at the bar of history, should anybody attempt to investigate their claims to remembrance. Yes: men may

remember well

This land of many hues;  
Whose charms what praise can tell,  
Whose praise what heart refuse?

The Rev. CANON JACKSON, in moving a vote of thanks to the noble President for his valuable address, said as one of the original founders of the Society he remembered its first meeting at Devizes,

29 years ago, when their president was the grandfather of the noble Lord who was now in the chair. Lord Lansdowne came from Bowood to give them an address, and it was not only a very good address in itself, but it contained a great many kind words of encouragement, and he wished God speed and success to the Association. He called to mind that the present patron of the Society was the Marquis of Lansdowne, and they had now in the chair his brother, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice. This showed them that the House of Bowood had not forgotten the character which it had so long borne in this county of attention to, and accomplishment in, not only political matters, but also literary matters, matters which concerned inferior things as compared with political business. Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice had shown that he was not only well qualified to represent a Parliamentary constituency, and indeed any body of men, but by his address that day he had shown very great qualifications as President of the Wiltshire Archæological Society.

The Rev. H. A. OLIVIER seconded the vote of thanks, which was carried by acclamation.

The noble President said it was a great pleasure to him to continue in the steps of his grandfather in these matters, who he believed was the first chairman of the Society. His grandfather always felt the great importance of all literary subjects, and he himself had always had the keenest interest in them. He hoped it was not the egotism of a person who had dabbled a little in literature, as he had, when he said that he somewhat dissented from Canon Jackson's assertion, and ventured to doubt whether the position of literature was not more important than that of politics. The position of literature in England, as compared with that which it occupied in some foreign countries, such as Germany and France, was one of inferiority, which was to be regretted and deprecated in every way. He held, with the late eminent novelist, Mr. Thackeray, that literary men were the salt of the earth. Thackeray was prepared to argue the point, and though he would not undertake that task, he was for literary men holding their own, and not proclaiming their inferiority to politicians, because if they examined into the amount of good done to the world by literary men and the good done by politicians,

they would find that literary men had done a great deal more good of the two. In conclusion he called upon Mr. Talbot to give them a paper on "The Architecture of Malmesbury Abbey," which that gentleman did with great ability, and afterwards conducted the party around the building, pointing out the details alluded to in his paper, (which will be found in a subsequent page of this *Magazine*) and carefully explaining the various particulars of interest on which he had treated. Within the Abbey he pointed out those portions of which he had before spoken, which represented the original Norman work. The great arch, now entirely blocked up, at the east end of the nave, formed the western arch of the central tower, he explained, the Norman arch remaining as built. The choir screen, as they now saw it was a work of the time of Henry VII. The characteristic Norman work in the nave was conspicuous in the immense circular pillars and the arches, which were bluntly pointed. Above they had the triforium, and then above, the clerestory and vaulted roof of the 14th century. The peculiar tracery of two 14th century windows on the south side was noted, and next the fact that the Norman windows on the north side had been inserted at an unusual elevation on account of the cloisters abutting against the Church on that side. Some antique stalls were also noticed, with quaint carvings on the arms. In the vestry were the remains of the tile pavement of the 14th century. The monument to King Athelstan was viewed with interest. The triforium gallery was originally open, but now walled up behind the arcade, this having been done in modern times, probably to keep the Church warmer. The ornamental work in the mouldings of the arches was believed by Mr. Talbot to have been executed at a later period than that of the original building, and peculiarities in the arches and string course above were indicated. The ornaments on the latter had been originally carried out through the whole Church, but at some time a portion had been hacked away, commencing, and continuing westward, from the bay over which had been constructed what was believed to be a watching chamber: a place from which watch could be kept on the treasures of the Church; though its use was by no means certain.

CANON JONES remarked that the sacristan always lived upon the

spot, and he could keep a look out from this chamber over the whole Church.

Dr. JENNINGS said that an old inhabitant of the borough (now in his 90th year) had told him that at the beginning of the present century it was the private pew of the chief magistrate, who was a lawyer, and that he sat there on Sundays and watched who attended Church, in order that those who did not attend a certain number of times might have a fine inflicted on them.

Mr. TALBOT thought this was possible, and added that whatever its use might have been, it was certainly medieval, and no post-Reformation work.

The party were then conducted round the exterior of the building, the porch being first examined. The figures on the side walls of the porch, Mr. TALBOT believed, were of earlier workmanship than the series of sculptures on the arch, being much ruder in execution.

Mr. CROOME, the parish clerk, pointed out the subjects of all the sculptured medallions with which the porch is enriched, and which represent events in both Old and New Testament History, beginning at the Creation, and closing with the Resurrection and the descent of the Holy Ghost; besides eight—four on each side—representing St. Michael and his encounter with the dragon. A very careful and complete inspection of the exterior of the church was then made, the party throughout having the advantage of Mr. Talbot's explanations and suggestions; and before leaving this interesting spot, a vote of thanks was most cordially presented to him, on the motion of the President.

The Members then visited the Abbey House, where a fine old solid oak staircase was seen, and the cellars, which really formed a portion of the old monastic buildings. Before leaving, the party were kindly invited by Dr. JENNINGS to refresh themselves with a cup of tea, and this was gratefully accepted.

The day's perambulation included a visit to St. John's Hospital, part of which is now used as the Court House of the Corporation: and the Market Cross, which has recently been very carefully restored.

## THE ANNUAL DINNER.

took place at the King's Arms Hotel, the President in the chair, when the usual loyal and complimentary toasts were given.

In returning thanks for the Bishops and Clergy of the two Dioceses of Salisbury, and Gloucester and Bristol, the Vicar of Malmesbury, the Rev. G. WINDSOR TUCKER, said, "there was a time in which the Bishops of Salisbury and Gloucester and Bristol, were not quite so amicable as they now were. Or rather he might say there was a time in which the Bishop of Salisbury was a very troublesome man in Malmesbury. He was speaking in the presence of those who were acquainted with the History of the town of Malmesbury, and there were many years in which the Bishop of Salisbury endeavoured to merge the Abbey in the see of Salisbury. Happily, those days of contention had long since passed, and now they were able to sleep under their own vines and fig trees in Malmesbury, without any fear of the terrible Roger of Salisbury. On behalf of the town and district he repeated his welcome to the Society, and assured them that the clergy of the district regarded their visit with great interest, and would have great pleasure in enabling the Society to see what was worth seeing in the Churches of that neighbourhood."

The Rev. C. SOAMES, after returning thanks for the Lord Lieutenant and Magistrates of the County, proposed the health of the President. As a legislator in the House of Commons, Lord Edmond had gained a distinguished place and made a great mark, while as a person taking a great interest in the public affairs of the county he was so well known and so much respected, that it was a matter of no surprise but of great satisfaction to everyone to find that he was likely to make as distinguished a mark as an archæologist.

LORD EDMOND FITZMAURICE said, speaking in a Wiltshire town, to a Wiltshire audience, at a Wiltshire Archæological Meeting, he would dwell upon none but home topics. It had given him the greatest pleasure to be able to come there that day. Last year he was prevented from performing his duties as president of the Society, because last year, by an unfortunate coincidence that sometimes would occur, the Lords' amendments to the Irish Land Bill came down to the House of Commons on the very day fixed for their

meeting. On the present occasion he was glad to be able to escape from the turbid atmosphere of politics to the more peaceful realms of archæology. It was gratifying to anybody who had been engaged, as he had, for so many months past, he would not say in assisting, but in vainly attempting to prevent the constant waste of time for which the house of Commons had now chiefly become distinguished, to be able to come down and spend a quiet, and he thought more useful day amongst Wiltshire Archæologists. As a politician he would venture to say that archæology was not, as people sometimes seemed to think, a science of the past. Archæology was, as he ventured that day to argue, only another name for history, and no man could be a safe doctor for the State, unless he had not only got some knowledge of the present of a country, but also of its past. Indeed, he thought it could be shown that there had hardly been a person who had occupied the first political position in the State who could not be proved to have been in one kind or another a close observer of the history and habits of his countrymen. He would say that of the present Prime Minister, as well as of his great rival so recently dead, and more especially of one whom it was his privilege to know from his earliest youth, he alluded to Lord Russell, whose very mind was saturated with the history of his country. That being so, it seemed to him that archæology was not a work from which the politician should turn aside. Again, the archæologist was sometimes able to be of use in regard to questions of local administration. His friend Mr. Merriman and himself had that afternoon, indeed, been helped to an accurate decision about a question affecting some of the roads of the county, by the opinion of Canon Jackson in respect to a question as to whether a particular place was or was not at a particular date a separate parish. Further, with regard to such questions as those on which local administrators and writers on local administration were so much divided, a great deal of useful light could be thrown by a study of what was formerly done in this country. For example, they heard a great deal now about the necessity of having some unit of administration intermediate between the county and parish. Well, as he had often argued elsewhere, what on earth was that except going back to the habits of their Saxon

ancestors, and setting up the hundreds which about 30 years ago their predecessors so unwisely went out of their way to take so much trouble to destroy. He put these few observations forward to show that archæologists were not the ridiculous persons they were sometimes described. The noble lord then proposed the health of the general secretaries, the Rev. A. C. Smith, and Mr. Medlieott; the curators of the museum, Mr. Cunnington, and the Rev. H. A. Oliver; as well as that of the Committee. He paid a high testimony to the value of the services of these gentlemen, and said it was to Mr. Smith's efforts that they were indebted for the discovery of additions to the Avebury monument, than which no monument was dearer to Wiltshiremen both on account of its importance, and also its recent escape from destruction.

The Rev. A. C. SMITH, in reply, repeated that the Society was in a flourishing condition, and as long as they were received as they had been received at Malmesbury it could not be otherwise than flourishing. But the real work of the meeting devolved on the Local Committee, and especially on the Local Secretaries, and he therefore proposed the health of Mr. Forrester and Mr. Jennings, the Secretaries, for the kind assistance they had rendered. He also thanked Mr. and Mrs. Jennings for their generous hospitality at the interesting Abbey House, over which they had been permitted to wander.

MR. FORRESTER said he was sorry to say he had the pleasure of occupying the post of Local Secretary on the occasion of the last visit of the Society to Malmesbury, now 20 years ago, and if the present Meeting went off with the same success as did the former one, his colleague and himself would be fully repaid. He gratefully acknowledged the valuable assistance rendered by many kind friends in the town.

The health of "The Ladies," proposed by the PRESIDENT, and responded to by the Rev. J. D. FORBES, concluded the toast list.

### THE CONVERSAZIONE

was held at the Town Hall, at 8 p.m., and was well attended: LORD EDMUND FITZMAURICE again occupied the chair: and two interesting papers were read, the first by W. W. RAVENHILL, ESQ.,

on "Sir William Waller," and the second by CANON JACKSON, on "The Abbey of Malmesbury before the Dissolution." As both papers will appear in the *Magazine* they need not further be alluded to here, except to say they were listened to with great attention, and received the cordial thanks of the audience, conveyed in graceful terms by the PRESIDENT.

### SECOND DAY, THURSDAY, AUGUST 3RD.

The archæologists, to the number of about sixty, assembled at the Town Hall, at nine o'clock, according to the programme, and left Malmesbury in a sufficient number of breaks, for the first day's excursion. The weather was all that could be desired. The first halt was at Charlton Church, the oldest portion of which is the Norman arcade with four arches, which divides the north aisle from the nave. Thence to Charlton House, which had been kindly thrown open for inspection by the Earl of Suffolk, and where the famous collection of pictures was viewed with the keenest interest. Brokenborough was the next halting-place, where there is now little to be seen by the archæologist, though Leland says that the West Saxon kings had a palace here called Caidurburgh, as early as the middle of the seventh century. The royal residence is said to have existed here till the reign of King John; and Aubrey reports that the ruins of it were pointed out to him by the inhabitants of the village as the seat of King Athelstan. The Church is a small unpretending building, though Aubrey records its former glories, even in his time long since departed. "Before the warres, they say, were very fine windows, but now utterly defaced." In the chancel arch, are the corbels, which used to support the beams of the rood-loft, the doorway of which, though now walled up, can be distinctly seen. There is also a good piscina here. Leaving Brokenborough on the road to Pinckney, a considerable stream of water was safely forded, and the old Roman road, known as the *Foss Road* was crossed, and here a short halt was made, while Mr. Jennings pointed out that in a sheltered nook on the old Foss-way, a little to the south, was the site of the old Roman station of *Mutuatonis*, or "White Walls," which was midway between Bath and Cirencester, situate on rising



ground on the banks of the Avon : and that in Easton Grey wood close by—commonly known as “White Walls Wood,” is said to exist a mound on which stood the Roman Prætorium. The spot is prolific in the yield of Roman coins, pottery, and other relics of its ancient occupants : indeed, it is quite a common occurrence for agricultural labourers to turn up specimens of Roman workmanship, when engaged in tilling the soil. The next place visited was Easton Grey, whose Church completely re-built in 1836, though prettily situated, offered no attraction to archæologists. Pinckney Park, the property of Mr. Cresswell, was the next halting-place, and here the occupier, Mr. Barker, very kindly conducted the numerous visitors over the house, where various objects of interest, including some curious old prints, were inspected. Sherston Magna detained our excursionists longer, for in the first place luncheon was prepared in the school-room here, and was heartily appreciated : and then Sherston claims to have been a place of some importance before the Norman conquest, and there is little doubt that it was the Scestane of the Saxon Chronicle, where a battle was fought in 1016, between King Edmund Ironside, and his Danish competitor Canute. The Church is an ancient and spacious edifice, with a central tower, surmounted by an open parapet and pinnacles. Over the porch, which is ornamented with a sculptured figure on the exterior, is a room in which, according to tradition, the Saxon King, Edmund, slept the night before the battle of Sherston. The sculptured figure alluded to above, was popularly supposed to be that of a hero, known as “Rattlebones,” who distinguished himself in the fight against the Danes, but this view was not accepted by the archæologists. CANON JONES gave it as his opinion that it once formed one of the four figures of a Church cross, from whence it had been removed to its present site. He should not be surprised if it was a representation of our Blessed Lord, with the book of law in His hand, as the Judge, and the hand raised in pronouncing the benediction. CANON JONES also gave, by request, an impromptu description of the main features of the Church, which he remarked, was an old Norman edifice, of which the best portions were to be seen in the central tower, chancel and nave. He had not the slightest doubt that the whole

was built at a very early date, as could be seen from the Norman piers. The east window, he believed, dated from the end of the thirteenth century. No doubt the transept was the chapel of some great family; the window of it, which was a fine one, was of the same type as those of Salisbury Cathedral. In the chapel is a tomb, evidently to a great benefactor of the parish. The south aisle was of much later date. The Church, he was persuaded, was originally cruciform, with nave, aisle, and two transepts. The arches of the nave were extremely beautiful. The tower had at some time been entirely re-built, excepting the lower part, which struck him as being much older than the upper. The existing tower dates from the fifteenth century. Alderton was the next place visited; but the Church did not occupy much time, being in great measure a modern building, though containing a fine rood screen, and a north door which comprise nearly all the portions which remain of the older edifice. Grittleton was reached by a pretty drive, and here the Society was welcomed by Sir John and Lady Neeld, with their accustomed liberality and hospitality; the many beautiful objects of art being pointed out by the courteous owner and several members of his family, and refreshments being provided, after the manner of Grittleton, as the Society has experienced on several previous occasions. After a hearty vote of thanks from the Secretary, and a brief inspection of the church close by, the whistle was sounded, and the visitors drove to Hullavington, whose Church, though last in the day's programme, was by no means one of the least interesting of those inspected during the day. It shows various styles of architecture, including Norman and early English. The most interesting feature is a portion of a fine old rood screen, between the north aisle and the chapel formerly belonging to Bradfield Abbey—which once existed in the parish. The lower part of this unique screen is in the Decorated and the upper in the Perpendicular style; being of fourteenth and fifteenth century dates. There is also a fine chancel screen of a later period. In the chapel of Bradfield is a quaint memorial to the memory of Simon James, who died 1616; and also the upper portion of the old Norman font. A very interesting relic still preserved in the Church, and which

was exhibited by the Vicar (Rev. L. E. Sweet, who met the party at the Church), is a chasuble, belonging to pre-reformation times, which is now used as a pulpit cloth, and at one time did similar duty in connection with the altar. It is beautifully worked, though from time to time it has been considerably cut about to suit it to the purposes for which it has been used. After examining this and other features of the Church, the carriages were mounted, and in due time Malmesbury was again reached, after a most pleasant excursion.

### THE CONVERSAZIONE

was held in the Town Hall, at 8 p.m., the Rev. CANON JACKSON presiding, in the absence of Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice. Two interesting papers were read, the first by the Rev. CANON JONES, "On some Place-names near Malmesbury, and their Historic Teachings"; and the second by Rev. T. A. PRESTON, on the "Flowering of Plants in 1880, 1881, and 1882," the latter illustrated by some exceedingly interesting diagrams, which showed at a glance the amount of sunshine, the rainfall, and the temperature, and their influence on the flowering of all the commoner plants in those three consecutive years. The hearty thanks of the Meeting were given from the chair, to Canon Jones and Mr. Preston, both of whose addresses will be printed in the *Magazine*. Complimentary votes of thanks were also passed to the Committee of management at Malmesbury, to Canon Jackson for presiding, and to the General Secretaries.

### THIRD DAY, FRIDAY, AUGUST 4TH.

On Friday morning, the archæologists (somewhat diminished in number since the previous days' excursion), assembled again at the Town Hall, at nine o'clock, and started in breaks and other carriages, and drove first to Little Somerford, where they were met by the Rector, (Rev. Arthur Evans), who conducted the party over the Church, and pointed out the handsome 14th century screen, and a carved stone, bearing on one side the representation of the Crucifixion, and on the other that of the Blessed Virgin, and which the archæologists (with an unwonted unanimity of opinion) decided to

have been the top of a churchyard or wayside cross. From Little Somerford the party drove to Broad Somerford, where also the Rector, (the Rev. W. Andrews), courteously received them at the entrance to the churchyard, and led the way to his interesting Church, which he had restored with good taste, and where the original rood staircase on the south side, and the hagioscope on the north, were objects of special attraction. A large circular mound of earth, abutting close on the churchyard, and washed at its base by the river, was also visited, and its probable intention much discussed, the preponderating opinion being that it was originally the site of a stronghold of Saxon or Danish times. Thence a short drive brought the party to Dauntsey, where again the Rector, (the Rev. Arthur Law), pioneered them over his very interesting Church, the chancel of which he had thoroughly restored in the true conservative spirit so dear to archæologists. Several ancient monuments here demanded careful examination, and an old painting, grotesque in its details, of the "Last Doom," was the subject of close examination. From Dauntsey a long pull up the steep hill conducted to the remains of Bradenstoke Abbey, where the party was reinforced by many additions; and where Mr. Frederick Goldney was ready to receive the visitors with the hospitality which invariably meets the archæologists when they visit this famous relic of monastic times. Nor were the refreshments so generously provided by any means declined by our archæologists; and then they rambled over the premises, some to the attics to see the great beams of the old roof, some to the top of the building and some to the cellars; and then over the gardens and into the barn, itself a noble specimen of its kind. Descending again by the same hill, and passing Dauntsey Station, where some of the members were deposited on their homeward journey, the excursionists next drove to Christian Malford, where the Vicar, the Rev. Canon Miller, very courtously conducted them over his beautiful Church, and here they lingered some time, in examining the many points of interest, not the least of which was the old register containing two remarkable entries, the one of a man touched for the king's evil at the end of the seventeenth century, the other of certain persons who had been pronounced excommunicate at about the same

period, and from one of whom the sentence was removed after an interval of no less than forty years. Within a short distance of the Church was pointed out in an orchard the base of an old cross, if not the original, yet in all probability the successor of that which once stood at the ford over the river, and gave its name to the village, "Christ's mal" signifying no other than Christ's Cross or Crucifix, such as may so frequently be seen in Italy or Spain by the wayside, or near bridges or fords over streams.

Sutton Benger was the next halting-place, and some of the more enthusiastic visited the handsome Church, remarkable for its peculiar style of architecture, and the flowing tracery of its windows: but the visit was a hurried one, for here the party was to lunch, and the fresh air and the long drive had sharpened the appetites of all. Immediately after luncheon, a short walk across the meadows brought the visitors to Draycote. The Church was first examined, and here you descend a step from the porch to the nave; still more remarkable, you descend again from the nave to the chancel, which lies some feet below the Churchyard outside. The effigy of a cross-legged knight, and other tombs and brasses were examined with attention, and then, passing out by the square room, furnished with table, chairs, fire-place and screen, which does duty for the pew of the Great House, the party entered the mansion of Lord Cowley hard by, and wandered over the sitting-rooms, and examined the pictures, several of which are of great merit. Rejoining the carriages, a beautiful drive through the very fine park of Draycote brought the archæologists to Seagry, where the Rev. Mr. Anketell, the Vicar of that parish, not only conducted the visitors over his extremely interesting Church, and pointed out the many objects which called for special attention, but read notes on the parish and its history, such as he had gleaned from sundry ancient Anglo-Saxon and other charters, copies of which he exhibited in the porch. The next halting-place was the field close by, where excavations had been made in hopes of discovering a heathen burial-place, alluded to in one of the charters; but though certain fragments of undoubtedly ancient British pottery had been brought to light, the long trenches cut through the field gave no indication that the ground had been

previously disturbed, nor did the long ridges of the meadow bear any appearance of sepulchral barrows.

From Seagry a pleasant drive brought the party to Rodbourne, the hospitable house of Sir Richard Pollen, who, assisted by Lady Pollen, took pains to point out the pictures and very valuable engravings with which the house is filled, and regaled their numerous guests with tea and coffee and other refreshments, for which the Secretary, Rev. A. C. SMITH, in the absence of the noble President, tendered the thanks of the Society : and then it was time to hasten back to Malmesbury to catch the last train which was to convey the archæologists to their several homes, East, South and West ; and so ended the very enjoyable Malmesbury Meeting, to the success of which every thing (including perfect weather) conduced, and which will not be readily forgotten by any who were so happy as to take part in it.

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## On the Architecture of Malmesbury Abbey.

By C. H. TALBOT, Esq.

(Read before the Society at Malmesbury, August 2nd, 1882.)

**A** somewhat difficult task has been imposed upon me. The glory of Malmesbury is its Abbey Church, and it has been thought desirable that some description of the building should be given in this room before we visit the Church itself. Having been asked to describe it, I have not liked to decline an undertaking which, however, I do not feel competent properly to discharge. I can only give a summary of what has already been published on the subject, and cannot expect to add much of my own. I have refreshed my memory by reading over various papers, of which the most important, I think, is that of Mr. Freeman, published first in the

“Ecclesiologist,” and re-published in the “*Wiltshire Archæological Magazine.*”<sup>1</sup>

I shall not speculate upon what may have been the character of any church which preceded the present one. We have still remaining a very noble building which is however the mere wreck of its former self. It is not known to whom the design of the original building is due. Mr. Freeman seems inclined to attribute it to Bishop Roger, of Salisbury, but that can only be considered a conjecture, and I do not think there is any positive evidence to support it. What is certain is that it is a very early example of the transition from the round-arched to the pointed-arched method of building, being essentially Norman, but with the use of the pointed arch for the pier-arches of the nave-arcades. The original church, besides the nave, the extent of which is seen at a glance, consisted of choir and transepts, with a central lantern tower. From what remains of the tower, we find that, though it was square in plan, the openings to the transepts were much narrower than those to the nave and choir, wing-walls being introduced, yet the pointed arch was not used for these narrower openings, but the transept-arches were considerably stilted, to bring them to the same height as the others. From this I should think it probable that the church was begun at the east end, that the pointed arch was not used in the choir, as we see that it was not under the tower, and that the nave is rather later. In St. John's Church at Devizes, where the tower is not square in plan, the round arch was used for the wider openings and the pointed arch for the narrower openings of the transepts, with no difference in date between the two. Mr. Freeman has pointed out that the eastern and western tower-arches have as little projection in the pier as possible and that their shafts are recessed, whereas the northern and southern arches have bold projecting responds, and that the probable explanation of this is that the ritual choir was under the lantern and that it was desired to get as much uninterrupted backing for the stalls as possible.

To return to the nave—Internally the original design remains

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. viii., p. 82.

unaltered till we get to the clerestory. We have plain cylindrical pillars with scalloped caps and arches slightly pointed; above these, the triforium with round arches, enriched with the chevron or zigzag ornament, the actual opening to the triforium gallery being by an arcade of four small arches, with a solid tympanum above. Under the triforium runs a string-course, enriched with an ornament, which to my mind, is suggestive of classical traditions. This has been defaced effectually in the three western bays of the present church, on the south side, and roughly, throughout, on the north side. The defacement of this ornament is not the work of very recent hands as is evident from its having been carried out in the ruined part of the nave. I think it may have been done in the fifteenth century. It is noticeable that the defacement begins, on the south side, at that bay of the triforium to which is attached, without much regard to appearances, a small erection of that date, supposed to have been a watching chamber, and evidently the object has been to get rid of an ornament which did not suit the taste of the later builders. The two easternmost arches of the nave-arcade, on each side, have been enriched by later Norman ornament cut out of one of the mouldings of the arch, that is to say, however soon after the building of the arcade it may have been done, there is no doubt but that the moulding was originally plain as in the rest of the arcade. To my mind this additional ornament does not add to but detracts from the grandeur of the work. Another instance of progressive decoration is to be seen in the wall-arcade of the north aisle. The greater part of this arcade is of plain arches with a square edge. A roll moulding has been cut on after in the east part of the aisle. Throughout the rest of the church this moulding is found, but the arcade was probably at first plain. Further instances of progressive decoration, in the Norman period, are to be seen in the porch and the remains of the west doorway.

From the caps of the great pillars spring clustered shafts which ran through to the roof, I presume, and have served as vaulting shafts for the builders of the fourteenth century. The character of the original clerestory can only be made out externally. The aisles retain their Norman vaulting unaltered, with the exception of one bay on



the north side, and were lit by round-headed single-light windows, one in each bay, under which ran an ornamental wall-arcade internally, and another such arcade of intersecting arches externally on the south side. The original clerestory is seen externally to have had single-light round-headed windows, ornamented with medallions running round them. There is a remarkably fine south porch which has been cased over externally in the fourteenth century, but internally all the original Norman work remains. It is richly adorned with sculptures which I shall not attempt to describe, further than to notice that the sculpture is not all of one date. The porch was intended to have been vaulted, but probably the vaulting was never erected, for there seems no reason why, if completed, it should ever have been removed. On the side walls of the porch, above a wall-arcade and below the intended vaulting, are some rather rude sculptures believed to represent the twelve apostles, six on each side, with two angels over. It is evident, at a glance, that these are earlier than the rich carvings of the great arch of entrance. The fact is that the latter have been cut out of the original plain mouldings of the arch, and in the west doorway of the nave some of the mouldings were so treated and some remained plain.

The west end of the church was an example of that peculiar taste which, disregarding the features that the nave and aisles would have presented when seen from the west, erected a great show front or architectural screen which concealed them, and Mr. Freeman has suggested, with great probability, that this west front of Malmesbury may have been the prototype of the west front of Salisbury Cathedral. There was one door only in this front the remains of which show that it was of a very ornamental character.

I now come to the great works of conversion in the fourteenth century. It is a well-ascertained and rather regrettable fact that our ancestors, like ourselves, were often not inclined to let well alone. It is only to be hoped that the liberties we take with their works will be as interesting to our successors as their alterations are to us. The period of these works is the reign of Edward the Third, and the style what we call late Decorated. The clerestory has been completely remodelled. It is probable that up to this time, the church,

with the exception of the aisles, had a flat wooden ceiling such as we may still see remaining in Peterborough Cathedral and elsewhere. In the north transept the indications of this ceiling may still plainly be seen. There is, at this point, a set-off in the wall of the tower, which is thinner above, and the round-headed doorway remains which led into the roof-space over the ceiling from a gallery in the tower walls. Consequently, the doorway does not show on the south side of the wall. Such a ceiling is much less pleasing to the eye than a vault, but evidently the earlier builders did not venture to vault these wide spaces. In the fourteenth century this was undertaken and the builders may have been influenced by a desire to embellish the church, and also to diminish the risk of its destruction by fire. They aimed at the complete conversion of the clerestory into the style of their own day, and in the western part, the Norman clerestory has disappeared altogether, whereas, in the eastern part of the nave, the flat Norman pilaster buttresses and indications of the original windows remain. Flying buttresses were erected over the aisle roofs, to support the vaulting of the nave, and the water, from the roof of the nave, has been ingeniously conveyed down by means of a gutter formed on the top of these buttresses. Something similar may, I think, be seen at Exeter Cathedral. There is a peculiarity in the tracery of the clerestory windows which is also noticeable in the north aisle of Corsham Church, so much so as to lead one to suppose that the same hand must have been employed on both works. The same peculiarity occurs, if I am not mistaken, also at Exeter. In the south aisle the windows and wall of two bays have been converted in this fourteenth century work, the Norman features being obliterated externally. It looks as if this was the first instalment of an intended entire conversion of the aisle to correspond with the clerestory externally. The tracery of the windows introduced is peculiar, the form of the stone having evidently been governed by the design of the glass and giving an awkward head to the centre light. A little of the original glass remains in one of these windows, but not, I think, as originally disposed. It is similar to some in Poulshot Church, simply foliage on a white ground, and it is evident that, if the greater part of these fourteenth century

windows was filled with such glass, their introduction must have been attended with a considerable increase of light.

The south porch was entirely cased over, but its outer arch of entrance, though of the fourteenth century, takes the circular form and the Norman terminals of the original hood moulding have been re-adapted to the later one. Porch, aisles and clerestory are finished with an open parapet which, however, was not introduced on the north side of the church. To my mind, the clerestory is a very elegant one. The fourteenth century alterations extended to the transepts and, not improbably, to the constructional choir or presbytery. The Norman lantern-tower was probably a low one and, on it, in later times, was erected a lofty spire, the tower itself probably being considerably raised. We have no evidence of the date of this work, but, probably, it was either contemporaneous with or shortly succeeded the general conversion. The monks may, perhaps, have been ambitious to emulate what had been done at Salisbury. It is, of course, well known to you that the magnificent spire of Salisbury Cathedral and the whole upper part of the tower, is no part of the original design and that it has, from the first, placed in jeopardy the church which it still continues to adorn. Not content with this, the monks of Malmesbury proceeded, in the fifteenth century, to build a great tower at the west end and they executed it in a very bold manner, erecting it within the limits of the church, on the fourteenth century work, and without adequate supports, building its east wall on an arch thrown over the vaulting, so as not to interfere with the vista of the nave; at the same time, making a great window in the west front and inserting a doorway within the Norman west door. To support this tower, an additional flying buttress was erected over an older one, on the south side, and also a buttress across one of the clerestory windows, two arches below having been introduced under the Norman work, perhaps a little earlier, and the triforium opening apparently first partially and then entirely walled up. About the same time a vault was erected under the Norman lantern and, perhaps for the sake of not letting them alone on principle, those Norman windows in the aisles, which had escaped being improved away, had mullions and tracery introduced.

The ambitious builders of Malmesbury considerably over-did the thing, for the central tower and spire fell, as Leland says, writing about 1540, within the memory of men then living, that is, in the later days of the monks, destroying apparently the eastern portion of the church. Mr. Freeman has shown reasons for thinking that this tower had previously threatened to fall and that the west tower-opening had been built up, with the exception of the upper part, and the original choir disused, in the time of the monks. The western tower also fell, at a later date, at what time precisely is not known, but before 1660 and apparently before 1634, and its fall probably destroyed the western portion of the nave.

I omitted to mention that one bay of the north aisle was converted in the fourteenth century and, as I have suggested in the case of the south aisle, this may have been the first instalment of an intended conversion of the whole. In this case, owing to the juxtaposition of the cloister, the window had to be at a higher level than those on the south side and, in order to introduce one of the size they desired, they carried up an independent gable, demolished the Norman vaulting of one compartment of the bay, and re-vaulted it in their own style, at a higher level. This single gable, standing alone, has rather a peculiar effect and it is evident that the appearance of the church, externally, though perhaps not internally, would have been improved by carrying the change throughout. The lines of the window tracery are much more satisfactory than those in the two windows in the south aisle. There are, preserved in the vestry, some remains of a very interesting tile pavement of the fourteenth century, probably contemporaneous with these works, which has been well figured in the "*Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine.*"<sup>1</sup>

The remaining works of the fifteenth century, in the church, are the choir-screen which now forms the reredos, the screens of the western bays of the aisles, the watching chamber already mentioned, and the monument attributed to King Athelstan. The position of the choir-screen, under the western tower-arch, is consistent with what Mr. Freeman has pointed out that the monks' choir was under

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<sup>1</sup> Vol. viii., Plate iv.

the central tower. The screen may be of the time of Henry the Seventh and, among the badges on it, are what looks very like the Stafford knot and the rudder, which occurs on several Wiltshire churches. Some Perpendicular stalls are worth notice, and a device, occurring on them, appears to be a bird with two heads pecking a human leg which rests on a tun, a rebus which I leave to the archæologists to explain.

With regard to the monument attributed to King Athelstan, the most probable supposition seems to be that it really does commemorate him, though made so long after his time, and that it was removed from its original position. The head seems to be a restoration, as it is said to be.

The cloisters were on the north side of the nave and, in this as in many other cases, the monks seem to have replaced the original cloister, at a late date, wholly or in part, by a new one vaulted with stone. I am inclined to think that the earlier cloisters generally had wooden lean-to roofs and arcades towards the garth such as are still to be seen in some places on the Continent. The indications of the vaulted cloister are to be seen at the south-east angle of the site they occupied, by the processional door, but somewhat obliterated by the well-meant but rather uncalled-for restoration of the Norman door at this point, which must have been mutilated in the erection of the cloister and of which the mutilation therefore was part of the history of the church. The east processional door, of the fifteenth century, with a cusped arch, is seen beneath its restored Norman predecessor.

Modern buttresses have been erected against the aisle wall, where the cloisters once stood, but the two western-most buttresses, though modern, are older. At this point walls are carried across the aisles, forming a chamber formerly used as a vestry, and solid buttresses are carried up to the clerestory, in place of the flying-buttresses of the fourteenth century. I think these were erected in consequence of the ruin caused by the fall of the western tower and I do not think the doorway between them is even the successor in position of the western processional door, which may have stood further west.

The character of the original bases of the great Norman pillars of

the church can only be seen in the ruined western portion of the nave. I regret to say that some of the masonry above has lately fallen, which I am told occurs from time to time.

Aubrey mentions the remains of the abbey kitchen, to the north-west, that is, in the usual position, at the north-west angle of the cloisters, adjoining the refectory. He says it stood on four strong freestone pillars, from which I infer that the pillars were at the angles of a square and that the kitchen may have been polygonal. The refectory must have been on the north side of the cloisters and the sacristy, chapter-house and day-room on the east side, with the dormitory over them, but these buildings have entirely disappeared. There seem to have been considerable ruins of the abbey buildings, on the north side of the church, in 1634, according to the testimony of a tourist who then visited it.

The lowest part of the present Abbey House was part of the monastery; what part we cannot say. It had certainly nothing to do with the refectory. It is an oblong undercroft, of which the whole area remains, and was originally divided into two portions by a wall, removed probably when the present house was built. It was vaulted, and had a central row of pillars, now removed. The responds are octagonal with plainly chamfered caps. The window arches are foliated internally and, as Mr. Christian has pointed out, are splayed inside on a curve in a remarkable manner. This may have been the undercroft of a hall in the Abbot's house, perhaps, but not the hall itself. The house itself was built after the dissolution of the monastery and for some convenience of levels, the vaulting of the undercroft was removed and its floor level considerably raised. Whatever the actual date of the present house may be, it has all the look of an Elizabethan building and is very picturesque and well placed. The north-east door in the Abbey Church and window over appear to be of the same character.

I have now redeemed my promise of reading a paper on the architecture of Malmesbury Abbey. I have left a good deal unsaid, but my own feeling is that a great deal more enjoyment and information is to be obtained by personal examination of a building, than by listening to any description that may be given of it.

## Malmesbury Abbey in its Best Days.

By the Rev. Canon J. E. JACKSON, F.S.A.

(Read at an Evening Meeting of the Wilts Archæological Society, at Malmesbury, August 2nd, 1882.)

**T**WENTY years ago, and afterwards printed in the *Wilts Archæological Magazine* (vol. viii. 14), some particulars were collected from the earlier annals of the town and Abbey-Church. The present paper proposes rather to deal with the monastic establishment itself, and to attempt to describe what it was in its best days.

Malmesbury Monastery was a Benedictine House. In order to understand more clearly what that means it may be well to say a few words about the origin of monastic institutions.<sup>1</sup> In one form or other they have existed in all climates and countries from remote times: chiefly in the East, India and Syria, but more particularly in Egypt. At a very early period of the Christian era the doctrines of the great Greek philosopher Plato were introduced into the Christian schools of divinity at Alexandria, and some of those Christians adopted a favourite theory of the Platonists, that the body is a mere incumbrance to the soul: consequently that the faculties of the soul are crippled and confined within a very narrow compass. Hence arose the idea, that the more the body was mortified, the nearer would be the approach to perfection: and that

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<sup>1</sup> Dr. Sam. Johnson's remarks upon monastic life are worth extracting: "I do not wonder that where the Monastick life is permitted every Order finds votaries, and every monastery inhabitants. Men will submit to any rule, by which they may be exempted from the tyranny and caprice of chance. They are glad to supply by external authority their own want of constancy and resolution, and court the government of others when long experience has convinced them of their own inability to govern themselves. If I were to visit Italy, my curiosity wd. be more attracted by convents than by palaces: though I am afraid that I sh<sup>d</sup>. find expectation in both places equally disappointed, and life in both places supported with impatience and quitted with reluctance."—(*Boswell's Life of Johnson, Croker's Edit., II., 354.*)

those who voluntarily submitted to a life of austerity and self-denial were the special favourites of Heaven. The first enthusiasts of this description were the Egyptians in the third century, who from living apart in solitary places, obtained the names of eremites (or hermits), and anchorites ; both words of Greek origin, signifying dwellers in deserts or in separation : they had, in the next century, a number of imitators, though a considerable time elapsed before the followers of monastic habits were associated into a body. The first Order was that of the Cœnobites or brethren of the " life in common " (as the word implies). They dwelt together in fixed habitations. In process of time, they grew into societies under protection of certain saints. In the fifth century they began to be considered as ecclesiastics and to call for the erection of appropriate buildings. During the dark ages their importance gradually increased, and in the eleventh century the Pope declared them exempt from the jurisdiction of the Sovereign of the country in which they lived.

St. Benedict, the founder of the Order called by that name, was a native of South Italy, born about A.D. 480. By living in an inaccessible cavern and having his provisions drawn up by a rope, he arrived at such a degree of sanctity and perfection that he was chosen by a neighbouring convent to be their abbot, and before his death he had founded twelve monasteries.

The Benedictine Order of Black monks, was the first that came into England with Augustine. Having settled at Canterbury, they were afterwards dispersed all over the country. In course of years they occupied all the largest and most famous houses, Canterbury, St. Albans, Durham, Ely, Gloucester, Glastonbury and a host of others : among them Malmesbury. At first, so long as the monks were comparatively poor, the original rules were strictly adhered to ; but as wealth flowed in, and with it, increased power and importance, the founder's intentions were apt to be forgotten. Now and then reformers would arise in the body, who themselves became founders of fresh Orders as Cistercians, Cluniacs, Carthusians, &c. These were substantially and in general outline the same as the Benedictines ; only a new edition, corrected and revised. These new editions in their turn became old, and so were succeeded or re-placed by further



sub-divisions and fresh Orders, varying somewhat in their title, their dress and regulations. But the Benedictines were from first to last the most numerous, the most powerful, and to use a common phrase, the top Order.

Besides monks, there were friars, which is simply the French word *frères*, brethren. It is not easy now to distinguish the one class from the other, but they were quite different at first. Generally speaking the difference was this. Though they all lived in monasteries, the monks lived more within the precincts of their house, among themselves. The friars were more at liberty: a kind of ecclesiastical free-lances. They could wander about the country, preaching wherever they pleased. But the chief difference (at first at least), was that the monks had settled property belonging to them in common. The friars lived by begging: hence *mendicant* friars. The first in England were the Dominican or Black friars: then followed the Grey friars, friars Minors, Carmelites and others. To say however that they had no property is not quite correct: for some of them by degrees obtained a good deal: but at first they lived from hand to mouth. There were very able and learned men among the friars. The Grey friars in London were famous for learning and skill in disputation: but it is to the Benedictine monks that the world is more particularly indebted for the most laborious and costly fruits and efforts of literature. All these, both monks and friars, were totally distinct from and had nothing to do with, what we call *parochial* clergy. Living in monasteries, according to the *rule* of some Order—*ad regulam*—the former were called the regulars—whereas the country priests, living more in society and mixing with the *world*—*in seculo*—were called the secular clergy.

The parish clergy were not over well pleased with either friars or monks. The friars having no fixed sphere of duty, used to ramble about, invade parishes, introduce strange ideas and unsettle the people. But against the monks, the parish clergy had a grievance of another kind.

Every one knows what the object was in first establishing our present parochial system. Happen to it what may, there can be no doubt that it was, in its origin, the well-considered work of far-seeing men.

The object was, that in a half settled or rather unsettled country, as England then was, there should be in every parish, however small, one person at any rate of a certain education, to be settled on the spot, whom the rest might look to as a sort of head, or general adviser, to try and keep things in some kind of order. The laymen landowners would be always liable to be called away for war or other purposes. A parish ruler or *rector*, more sure to be at home, seemed a wise arrangement. With this object, a certain part of the produce of the parish was set aside for him. That was the *intention* of tithe. But what did the monasteries do? Not only did they receive large gifts of *land* from old Saxon kings and others: but they had influence enough to take the tithes also: leaving only some very small part for a deputy who should live at the place, and do all the duties of the clergyman. This deputy they called their *vicar*, or representative. That is the reason why vicarages, generally speaking, are so small in emolument.

Malmesbury monastery was no wise behind the rest in this unfair system. It obtained for itself several rectories in this town and neighbourhood. The vicars of Malmesbury, of Seagry and of Sutton Benger, might have a word or two to say upon this subject.

One case not very far from Malmesbury I can tell you of, where the bad effect and inconvenience arising from that system continue to be felt to this hour. Just on the other side of Malmesbury Common lies the little village of Norton, a small parish of about one thousand acres of land. Of that thousand about seven hundred and fifty belonged to the monastery here. Not satisfied with the lion's share, they must take the clergyman's too, leaving him, their vicar, an insignificant stipend as the reward of his labours. They did not even give him a decent abode to live in. The old vicarage house of the monks, was still standing a few years ago. It was simply a hovel: with one room below, and one above: and a small den or cell at the side, to serve for kitchen, larder, sticks, coals, &c. As nobody in the position of a clergyman, could possibly live in such a hole, and as nobody had come forward to provide another, the parish has always been attended and the church duty served by some clergyman lodging else-

where. That is the case at present. The present vicar resides four miles off. He has therefore every Sunday a Sabbath day's journey of four miles there and four back : making eight : and if during the week he has any person to visit, or anything to speak about, the eight miles have again to be performed. He has been vicar now (1882) for nearly thirty-six years, and during that long time, having never, except three times, taken his legal three months holiday in the year, there remain thirty-five years during which he has hardly ever missed his Sabbath day's journey. Eight miles every Sunday and other great days makes above four hundred miles in a year : multiply that by, say thirty-five years, you get fourteen thousand miles. Add to that, for extra walks, rides, or drives on week-days, certainly not less two thousand miles, you get a sum total of about sixteen thousand miles which the vicar has had to travel, in all weathers, in order to do his ordinary duties in the parish. All this is the consequence of the abbot of Malmesbury's selfish behaviour, and as the vicar of Norton who has undergone this inconvenience, is no other than the humble individual who has now the honour of addressing you, if I should have, as I may have, occasion in the course of this address to speak in praise of the abbots of Malmesbury, you will I hope, regard such conduct as a noble instance of forgiveness of injury.

The monasteries certainly impoverished the parish clergy. They were also rather troublesome to the Bishops : for one of the first things a monastery always tried to do, was to get itself exempt from all visitation or interference on the part of the Bishop of the diocese. Great jealousy, as might be expected, arose out of this. The monasteries acknowledged no superior but Rome. I need not say, how omnipotent the Pope was, in earlier days, and how great his authority over even kings themselves. The monasteries were his creatures and satellites, and in order to pacify and keep on good terms with them, the old kings, nobles, and landed gentry, bestowed on them vast tracts of land. The quantity which the whole six hundred and forty monasteries in England ultimately possessed, has been much exaggerated : but probably it cannot be reckoned at less than one tenth of the soil of England. This, as was to be

expected, led, by degrees, to much murmuring and gave great offence.

There were twenty-nine mitred abbots who sat in Parliament, in the House of Lords as Barons : and as, besides these, there were also the Bishops having seats there, the clerical element was considered to be rather too strongly represented.

Our County of Wilts was, without doubt, rather thickly studded with Religious Houses, and the lands of one must have come very near the lands of another all the way through : as may be seen by following on a map, Malmesbury, Bradenstoke (or Clack) Abbey, Stanley, near Chippenham, Lacock, Monkton-Farley, Maiden Bradley, Edington, near Westbury, Amesbury, Ivy Church and Wilton. Besides these there were several small establishments as at Abury, Ogbourne, Marlborough, Clatford, Rockley, Charlton, near Pewsey, Easton Royal, near Savernake, Kington St. Michael, Longleat, and Bradford-on-Avon. Of these, some disappeared very early : others were merged in the larger ones : and one or two were, what were called Alien priories, *i.e.*, they belonged, not to any English house but to some large monastery in France. These Alien priories were continually liable to be seized upon by the king of England when engaged in war with France and wanting money, as was very often the case.

To speak more particularly of the possessions of Malmesbury Abbey. Those who are acquainted with this neighbourhood will be able to form some idea of the important position which the abbot filled as landlord, when I name the various parishes about here : premising that he did not possess the *entire* parish in each case, though he did nearly so, in some. He had, first of all, a great deal in Malmesbury, of house-rents and other dues, also the tithes ; land at Charlton, Brokenborough, Long Newnton, Burton Hill, Colepark, Thornhill, Norton, Milbourne, Whitechurch, Hankerton, Garsden, Cloatley, Crudwell, Kemble, Somerford Keynes, Brinkworth, Grittenham, Purton : also part of Dauntsey, Bremhill, Foxham, Highway, besides other smaller holdings in parishes intervening. Also a house in London, and farms, more or less in size, in Gloucestershire, and South Wales.

It has often been said that the Religious Houses had too much of

the land of the country. Before making any remark upon that I would just observe, that a great many other things have been said to their disparagement, as for instance, some have condemned them wholesale, as merely receptacles of a lazy useless set of men.

No doubt in later times, when founder's rules began to be forgotten, there were among so many wearers of the hood, many somewhat unclerical. It was so when our poet Chaucer in his Prologue picked out one of this sort for immortality. This was one of the fat and jolly species who found the rule of St. Benedict much too old-fashioned and tight: who candidly, says in the poetry "If St. Benedict likes to work with his hands, he may do so, but for my own part I like a dainty horse and greyhound, and pricking for the hare." As to the good things of the table, he candidly avows, that

"A fat swan lov'd he, best of any roast."

That the monks thought a good deal about eating and drinking, is an opinion also widely fixed upon the public mind, by a famous and well-known picture from the pencil of Landseer the great animal-painter. Wishing to bring together into one *tableau*, many varieties of fish, flesh and fowl, he took for his locality, the larder of a monastery: in which, a very portly and comfortable-looking manciple is receiving and registering a number of articles that hold out the promise of very good fare.

But it is unfair to judge of any system only by its defects. All things and all systems we know are apt to slide into abuse, and to fall away from the propriety and rigour with which they first began. Rules become obsolete, discipline relaxed, and the habits of the outer world imperceptibly steal in, within precincts that were severely guarded at the first. But it was the case with the monasteries, as with individuals:

"The evil that men do, lives after them:  
The good is oft interred with their bones."

or as the same idea is otherwise expressed by the same pen:

"Men's evil manners live in brass: their virtues we write in water."

We do not deny the faults: but let us also fairly consider the

merits : for the world is really under great obligation to the monks.

Now, as to their having too much land. It would not be difficult to allege objections against any particular class of men acquiring a preponderance in land. In the case of the monks more particularly, there was this element of *political* embarrassment : viz. : that they did not consider themselves subjects, in all respects, to the supreme authority and government. But looking at the question merely as one between landlord and tenant, one might perhaps say, that no one could well have too much land who shewed himself a good landlord. Now, as landlords, the monks were, undeniably very good ones. It is certain that their rents were low, their leases long, and their fines moderate. Had it been otherwise, we should have not heard of them what old John Aubrey tell us : "The leases were almost as good to the tenants as if they had been fee-simple : and perhaps lasted longer with them, than if they had been their own. Sir William Butler told me," says Aubrey, "that Alton Farm had been held by his ancestors from the Abbey of Winchester, about four hundred years. The Powers of Stanton St. Quintin held that farm in lease three hundred years, and my ancestors, the Danverses held West Tokenham for many generations, of the Abbey of Broadstock." That would not have been the case if the monks had been hard and exacting landlords. Upon some of their estates, they held a certain quantity of land in their own hands, farming it themselves for purposes of maintenance. Indeed some of their lands were given to them for some special and particular object of the kind : some to maintain one office, others for another. There were lands for the abbot alone : lands for the dispensary : lands for the kitchen.

Again, we may judge by what remains of the buildings on their estates that they certainly did not spare money in that kind of outlay. Many an old farm-house there still is within a few miles of Malmesbury that belonged to the Abbey, which still shews solid marks of its former ownership—stout rafters—church-like windows—noble garden or orchard walls with heavy stone cappings : none of your skimpy lathe and plaster houses, none of your fine painted gates and gate-posts that rot in the ground before they have been in it a dozen years : but the old monks used solid oak and massive

stone, made to last for centuries. I remember seeing an old monastic farm-house taken down in which the roof-beams were neither more nor less than entire oak-trees with the very outside bark still upon them : only roughly squared to fit their place. There are also still to be seen in this county barns built by them, which (if barns may so be called), are quite royal in their dimensions and architecture ; one at Bradford-on-Avon in particular is worth going to see. Even the spring of water that supplied their house had some solid building to protect it. Of this there is a specimen at Lacock, another at Monkton Farley, another at Edington near Trowbridge. So, if good durable building shews good landlords, certainly the abbots were such.

Did they make good use of their money in other respects? Did they spend it on their dress? Certainly not. Your Benedictine was content to walk about in a plain black loose gown of stuff reaching down to his heels, with a cowl or hood of the same, to serve as an umbrella ; with a scapulary, or cape of the same stuff, over the shoulder : under the gown a white habit made of flannel. The furniture of their room again was of the very simplest kind. They were not allowed to make purses for themselves, and leave comfortable nest-eggs to their relatives, in the shape of Three per cents. or Railway debentures. They had no jointures to provide : no younger son to put out into professions, no long school or college bills from Eton or Oxford : no young damsels to be highly accomplished : no country-houses to be filled with costly pictures, statues and bric-a-brac, no race-horses, four-horse drags or gaudy liveries : so that not having calls of this kind for their money what did they do with it? They built with it Tintern, Fountain's Abbey, Glastonbury, and Malmesbury.

In fact it was much the same case with them as the Latin poet Horace says it was in Rome, in *its* best days.

"Privatus illis census erat brevis :  
Commune magnum."

That is : "in private individual fortune and expense they were frugal, in what concerned the public, large and dignified." We should deal most unjustly with the memory of these men, if we overlooked the fact, that though our views in religion may be different

from theirs, still it was for the sake and honour of their own Form that, whilst keeping nothing for themselves, they were magnificent and costly in building, plate, sculpture, painting, in short, in every thing that assisted externally to honour and magnify the worship of God.

It was just now mentioned that the monks farmed some of their land themselves. They kept in their own hands very often in a parish that part which was called the Demesne. Sometimes a monk or two, or at any rate some officer in monastic habit, resided on the spot, under the name of Præpositus or Bailiff, and this has often led to the common tradition that such and such a place was an abbey or a nunnery, when in fact it was merely a property belonging to one, and occupied by persons connected with the establishment. The accounts of their different estates were most carefully kept, and drawn up formally every year, on long narrow sheets of parchment, sometimes many yards in length, to be rolled up and deposited among the abbey records. Of these, I have unfolded many, belonging particularly to Glastonbury. They are by no means easy to read, being in Latin, the words being abbreviated, and the writing very small and close, as if sheepskin had been an expensive article. Some thirty or forty of these long narrow parchments stitched together at one end, after being rolled up tightly for hundreds of years, are awkward antagonists to struggle with, when you want to get at the contents. But when examined they show a scrupulous minuteness and the strictest account of profit and expense. There are the details of the number of cattle, sheep, pigs, fowls, geese, eggs, honey, every thing in short bought and sold: entries of the day when cheese-making began, and when it ended: of the ploughings, manurings, mowing and reaping: the fences of yards, orchards, gardens: horses, implements, stock of iron for repairs, barley kept for brewing, bacon, hides, repairs of building, &c. All this shews superintendence and good management; that they knew their duty as careful agriculturists, and set no slovenly or careless example to all in their employment.

One or two things are remarkable in their system of letting to tenants, land which they did not themselves cultivate. An



account of the possessions of Malmesbury Abbey in the reign of Edward I. (A.D. 1283), six hundred years ago, copied from an original document, was published some time back by the late Mr. Akerman. It gives the names of all who at that time held under the abbot in each parish, and it is curious to notice how much greater a number of very small—not peasant proprietors—but occupiers, there were then than there are now. Taking the parish of Norton above mentioned, there were in it, at that time twenty-six petty tenants paying various small sums, from 2s. 6d. down to even one farthing a year. The money of those days was of course of different value from our's: one farthing then might be equal, say to twenty farthings now, *i.e.*, fivepence. We should not call fivepence a very exorbitant rent for house or land. Yet at Norton six hundred years ago, there were twenty-six rent-payers, whilst at present there are only fourteen. At Colepark near here, there were then twenty-seven small occupiers, the highest paying twenty pence. I doubt if there is any thing like that number now. At Sutton Benger there were seventy-one tenants, from 6s. 8d. down to one farthing a year. At Foxham near Bremhill, twenty-nine occupiers with the same sort of petty rents. It would almost seem that the population of these little places must have been, six hundred years ago, at least quite as numerous as now. Of the number of small holdings in ancient times, one sees a sort of evidence in the very small size of enclosed fields still remaining, of sometimes not more than one acre or two. A great deal of arable land in this part of Wilts used formerly to be unenclosed, and the way was for the people of a parish to have each a certain bit of pasture or meadow enclosed; with so much right, or allotment, of arable land, in what was called, the "common fields."

I have said enough to prove that the monks were unexceptionable, as landlords. The tenants, when the change took place, very soon discovered that the change had not done them much good: for rents were raised and new burdens fell upon them.

To consider now, in what respect they were useful to the public?

1. In the first place they always had money ready when the Crown wanted it, which was often enough. What they were asked for, passed under the polite name of a Benevolence: but it was in reality

compulsory, levied much after the fashion of the courteous highwayman who says, with dubious playfulness, I shall be obliged to you to hand out your money : for if you don't I shall be obliged—to make you. The monasteries were sure game, so much so, that after King Henry had dissolved them, the Emperor Charles, when he heard of the fate of the abbies and into what channel the revenues were turned, is reported to have said, that “the King had killed the hen that laid the golden eggs.”

2. In another respect, the monasteries were, in earlier days, of considerable public utility. Just as at the present time, in many parts of the East, there are no inns to be found, but travellers, especially of a better class, are received and lodged in the monasteries, so used it to be in England. Travelling then was travelling indeed ; great folks went on horseback with a numerous suite, and when such visitors wanted to stop for the night, they were safe to find at the abbey “good accommodation for man and beast.” Even the famous Cardinal, the very man who was among the first to lay hands on the smaller monasteries, was glad enough when he drew towards his end, to take shelter in a large one :—

“At last, with easy roads, he came to Leicester ;  
Lodged in the abbey ; where the reverend abbot  
With all his convent, honourably receiv'd him.”\*

There were, in fact, in all the large monasteries, rooms set apart for the reception of strangers, and a regular officer of the establishment whose duty it was to attend to them.

3. Again ; the monasteries had schools : not of course for all the children in a parish, that which is now called education not being then in vogue ; but instruction was certainly given to the young : and in some of the largest, young people of the very highest class were received as boarders. A Mr. Lloyd, a learned antiquary in Wales, two hundred years ago, wrote thus : “Before the Reformation every man almost of any fashion, could speak Latin ; they learned it at the monasteries where they were obliged to speak it.”

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\* Shakspeare, Hen. VIII., Act IV.

There were no public schools in the days of the Plantagenets; Winchester I believe is the oldest, and that was founded about the end of the 14th century. Oxford and Cambridge indeed existed, and boys undoubtedly went there at a much earlier age than now. But it is certain that the monasteries did train up a good many, and moreover they had, at those universities, colleges of their own.

But if the Religious Houses of monks were the schools of those days, much more were the Nunneries.

Hear what our old Wilts antiquary says upon the subject—He lived in the reign of Charles II: “The young mayds were brought up (not at Hackney, Sarum schools, &c., to learn pride and sauciness but) at the nunneries, where they had examples of piety, humility, modesty, and obedience, to imitate and to practise. Here they learned needlework, the art of confectionary, surgery (anciently no apothecaries or surgeons—the gentlewomen did cure their poor neighbours,—their hands are now too fine), physick, writing, drawing, &c. Old Jacques could see from his house at Kington St. Michael, the nunnes of the Priory come forth into the Nymph-hay (a ground by the Priory) with their rocks and wheels to spin, and with their sewing work. He would say he hath counted threescore and ten: lay sisters, widows and young girls. This was a fine way of breeding up young women who are led more by example than precept; and a good retirement for widows and grave single women, to a civil, virtuous and holy life.”

He mentions physic and surgery as practised by women, but the monks were not wanting in this respect. They had their dispensaries, one for themselves, one for the public. They studied chemistry largely. A volume has lately been published, of very curious receipts of theirs, for all sorts of compositions. One thing I venture to say they knew how to make, which we do not; at least if we know it we do not practise it: and that is how to make durable ink. For myself I can only say that, using even what was said to be the best ink to be got in Bath, things that I wrote thirty years ago, are now hardly legible: which may be no loss to the world, but is a great inconvenience to myself. The black has vanished, and nothing but a pale rusty mark remains: whereas some of the old manuscripts

written at these monasteries, retain the black, in many cases really almost as fresh as the day they were written.<sup>1</sup>

The monks, having no secular parochial work, had leisure for the cultivation of art and science of various kinds. They studied and wrote about, not only a higher class of subjects, but domestic economy, home and common every-day matters; in short, whatever helped to assist working people in the improvement of their business. Brewing they brought to perfection. In all matters relating to the Church we may well believe they were proficient. They were bell-founders, and clock-makers; and as to architecture, I need hardly say, under the shadow of the old abbey, that it is to them we are indebted not only for those unrivalled Churches of which there are so many ruins, piteous to behold, but for many of our Cathedrals which still exist. Canterbury, Rochester, Durham, Lincoln, and Gloucester Cathedrals were built by Norman monks, sent over by William. They not only designed and superintended, but it is recorded that some of them actually worked at the building. It is particularly mentioned in the History of Winchester, of Romsey, and of Selby in Yorkshire, that the abbots put on mason's dresses and worked like common men. So far from being, in their best days, only idle and lazy eaters of fat swans, the annals of the monasteries, not only in England, but in France and all over Europe, show beyond possibility of contradiction, that under the simple monastic gown or frock, living under the orderly discipline of a regulated religious institution,—more particularly the Benedictine,—were to be found the chief workers, not only in architecture, but in painting (especially miniature), mosaic, sculpture, carving in ivory, the setting of precious stones, and many other varieties of ornamental art; whilst at the same time others under the same homely exterior were workers in the commoner departments of iron and wood. In fact the teaching of these arts and trades formed an essential part of monastic education.

I am not saying these things without the means of proving them.

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<sup>1</sup> Here were exhibited some manuscripts on vellum, six hundred, and nine hundred years old: in which the ink is admirably preserved.

Take the art of miniature painting. We have in our Public Libraries many most beautiful volumes, the handiwork of these men, illustrated by exquisitely fine paintings, and arabesque borderwork. From miniature painting they passed to embellishment on a larger scale. At the monastery at Wearmouth in Durham, the walls of their church, for two hundred feet long, were covered with frescoes from the history of the Old and New Testament. The names of these ecclesiastical artists have for the most part perished. A few survive: one, in itself a host—Fra Angelico.

The next step was to staining of glass. This also they carried to great perfection. They used some process not fully known to us, and there are some colours which our artists have never been able to arrive at. With all our modern efforts we are still a long way behind the old glass.

The principal workers in silver and gold in the Middle Ages, especially on the Continent, were monks. Of their works such as shrines, censers, books bound in gold, silver and ivory, pastoral staves, crosiers, diptychs, chandeliers, crucifixes, &c., many specimens remain to bear witness to the degree of elegance and perfection to which they carried their labours in this way. It is particularly on record that a splendid shrine at the great Abbey of St. Albans, which received the bones of their patron-saint, was the work of an English monk, whose name was Anketill.

We must not omit another art, the most impressive and touching of all, which expresses our emotion and sways our feelings—that art of which Shakespeare says:—

“The poet  
Did feign that Orpheus drew trees, stones, and floods,  
Since nought so stockish, hard, and full of rage,  
But Music for the time doth change his nature.”

“For the time” says Shakespeare: because the effect is often only transient, but it is more durable and impressive in sacred music. Now no where in the world was this more zealously cultivated than in the monasteries. Their very system required it: for such was the number and frequency of their Services, that they were at practise almost incessantly. Continual chanting made it a necessary duty

to give attentive study to sacred music. In some of the largest monasteries especially on the Continent, this was pursued enthusiastically, and on the largest scale. The very father of ecclesiastical music, Gregory the Great, was a monk of St. Andrew, at Rome.

The organ too, the special creation of Christian music, owes its construction to the monks. At the abbey at Winchester, so far back as the tenth century, there was one (it is recorded) on so enormous a scale as to require seventy men to conduct it. The monks also were the authors of many valuable treatises on music.

At Malmesbury, the abbey church, as is well known, was not originally the parish church : but it was the church of and belonged to the monastery itself. In some cases, (as at Arundel, about which there was, a year or two ago, a curious dispute in the Law Courts,) one and the same building served both for the parish and for a monastery adjoining. There the monks used the choir or chancel having a private entrance to it, the parish used the rest of the building. At Malmesbury the whole was purely monastic. And without indulging in any fanciful or poetical unreality, any one who has ever been present at the gorgeous church ceremonies which the Roman Catholic Church knows so well how to arrange, will easily be able, when gazing on the mutilated abbey here, to picture to himself the large building when entire, presenting on High Festival Day, many a splendid and attractive spectacle.

Another and not less important service there was for which the world is indebted to these establishments. In the troublous days of early England, when war and military life occupied our ancient barons and landed gentry, when their household were all armed men spending half their time in the barrack room or camp, what became of Learning and Literature? There was no printing, no books, no newspapers. The famous "three R's" were at the lowest possible ebb: and I question very much whether any of the barons who signed Magna Charta could have written his name. They affixed their seals. The seal in fact, was the signature. I have often found, attached to old deeds, the wax seal carefully sewed up in a little satin bag, with cotton, leaves, or tow, inside, in order to keep it from injury : because if this seal was destroyed, there being no written name, the token

of consent or bargain was gone and the document became useless. It is very rarely indeed that even four hundred years ago you find any name written. The same also with Reading and Arithmetic. Everything was done by some one connected with ecclesiastics. Of this the very name of clerk which we still preserve, is a proof; the assistant in a bank or lawyer's office, being still called a *clerk*: just as a clergyman in law is described as a *clerk*. This then being the condition of the aristocracy and landed gentry, where was Literature kept alive? Where was the lamp of Learning kept ever burning and never allowed to go out? Certainly in the monasteries.

Every monastery, Malmesbury among the rest, had its library, and its writing room: in which a certain number of the brethren spent their time in composing or transcribing: either writing up some chronicle of the times, or copying such works, chiefly of course, theological, as could be obtained elsewhere.

This monastery produced one—William of Malmesbury—who is called by some, the chief of our old historians. He left eighteen or nineteen works, now of more or less value. He died about the middle of the twelfth century, A.D. 1143, in the reign of King Stephen: but his history covers a space of about one thousand years ending with his own time. He was brought up in this monastery, became librarian, and might have been abbot, but he declined the honour. He is described as having been fond of books from his youth, and as having visited most of the monasteries in the kingdom, and procured every work he could.

How many valuable and curious volumes, the result of patient monastic toil, are now utterly lost, we know from the celebrated Antiquary John Leland. When the monasteries were broken up, the rage seems to have been to destroy not only the buildings, but everything in and belonging to them. The King took care of the plate and jewels: and there are lists preserved of many of the most valuable collections, that fell into his hands. The list of Glastonbury Plate presents a most wonderful assemblage of costly things—not of soup tureens, or venison dishes, or wine coolers, or silver trays, to stand upon the side-board or the dinner table: but of chalices, crosses of gold set with emeralds, eagles of silver gilt, images garnished with

pearls and sapphires, to stand upon the altar and about the churches. In all that long list, there is not one article that was used to set forth domestic luxury, but the whole of them referred to the glorification of Religion. To that list, and every page of it, King Henry affixed his sign manual. This, methinks, might suggest a pretty subject for an Artist; viz., a crowned King of England at a desk like a pawnbroker ticking off church valuables: and in the back-ground the poor Abbot of Glastonbury hanging on a gallows at the top of Tor Hill.

Would that the King had taken half as much care about the Libraries as he did about the Plate. Their fate was sad. The dealers and land-jobbers who mostly bought the abbies were allowed to take MSS. and all. To them such things were useless, excepting only such volumes as Registers of Title Deeds, Chartularies and the like, which were important to prove their right as the new owners. For the rest they cared not.<sup>1</sup>

Fuller the Church Historian breaks out furiously on this subject. "Alas," he says, "those abbeys were sold to such chapmen as it was questionable whether their ignorance or avarice were greater: and they made havoc and destruction of all. As brokers in Long-lane, when they buy an old suit, buy the linings together with the outside, so it was conceived meet, that such as purchased the building should, in the same grant, have the libraries (the stuffing thereof) conveyed unto them. And now these ignorant owners, so long as they might keep a ledger-book or terrier, by a direction whereof to find such

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<sup>1</sup> The monastic records that have come down to us, it must be confessed, are generally of very dry composition: and contain little that is in any way, enlivening or of interest to ordinary readers. The documents transcribed into them are, for the most part, mere copies of title deeds, conveyances of land, grants of privileges, &c., in short, matters of business concerning the *rights* and *property* of the Religious House itself. Seldom is there any account of what may be called the *life* of the monastery: no description of what passed, was said or done: no anecdotes, biographical or social of the Brethren: nothing about visitors, great ceremonials, eminent preachers: none of the current events or changes in the Town or neighbourhood. Now and then we have a chronicle, touching very briefly upon the contemporary events of national history: but generally speaking, a monastic register relates simply to the legal and pecuniary matters of the monastery itself.



straggling acres as belonged to them, they cared not to preserve any other. The covers of books having curious bosses and clasps might be kept, the rest was thrown away: many an ancient manuscript Bible cut in pieces to cover filthy pamphlets." It is said that fine illuminated Service books were sold as waste at the monastery gates at Malmesbury. John Bale, a writer, who was no lover either of the Pope or the monks, nevertheless bewails this destruction with shame. He says that hundreds of them were sold to the grocers and soap-sellers—others sent over sea. "He knew a merchant-man that bought the contents of two noble libraries for forty shillings a-piece, a shame it was to be spoken. This stuff hath he occupied instead of gray paper, by the space of more than these ten years, and yet he hath store enough for many years to come." "Never," says he, and he "uttered it with heaviness," "did either the Britons under the Romans and Saxons, nor yet the English people under the Danes and Normans ever have such damage of their learned monuments as we have seen in our time. Our posterity may well curse this wicked act of outrage, this unreasonable spoil of England's most noble antiquities."<sup>1</sup>

John Aubrey also, our old Wiltshire friend, is almost as vehement and copious upon this subject as Thomas Fuller: and his language as peculiar and quaint.

"In 1633," he says "I entered into my grammar at the Latin school at Yatton Keynel, in the church, where the curate, Mr. Hart, taught the eldest boys Virgil, Ovid, Cicero, &c. The fashion then was to save the forules (*i.e.* the backs) of their books, with a false cover of old parchment manuscript. I was too young to understand: but I was pleased with the writing and the coloured initial letters. I remember the Rector there, Mr. William Stump, great grandson of the clothier of Malmesbury," (the exceeding rich man who bought the abbey) "had several MSS. of the abbey. He was a proper man, and a good fellow; and when he brewed a barrell of special ale, his use was to stop the bung-hole, under the clay, with a sheet of manuscript; he sayd nothing did it so well, which me thought did

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<sup>1</sup> Fuller, Church History, iii., 247.

grieve me much to see. Afterwards I went to schoole to Mr. Latimer at Leigh Delamer, the next parish, where was the like use of covering of books. In my grandfather's days the manuscripts flew about like butterflies. All musick bookes, account bookes, copie bookes, &c., were covered with old manuscripts, as wee cover them now with blew or marbled paper: and the glovers at Malmesbury made great havoc of them: and gloves no doubt were wrapped up in many good pieces of antiquity. Before the late warres a world of rare manuscripts perished hereabouts."

After some years, Aubrey went back to Yatton Keynel to try and see Parson Stump's MSS. out of curiosity, where, he had seen some in his childhood: but by that time they were lost and dispersed. "His sons were gunners and soldiers, and had scoured their guns with them: but he shewed me several old deeds granted by the Lords Abbots with their seals annexed."

After an interval of some two centuries, I am the successor, at Leigh Delamere, of that Mr. Latimer who covered his books with the spoils of your abbey. I have not been guilty of the like profanation: on the contrary, though no great runner after butterflies, I have contrived to catch and save a few of that extinct species which old Aubrey speaks of. [Several specimens were here exhibited.] Old as they are and so roughly handled as they have been, you can still trace in them remains of that imperishable gold lettering, and that calligraphy for which the work of the monks was so remarkable.

It was the indefatigable John Leland, sometimes called the Father of English Antiquaries, who exerted himself to rescue the remains of Monastic Libraries. He obtained a Commission from the King to visit all the monasteries, and take note of their contents. That was the object of his famous tour. At the Dissolution, seeing the destruction that was going on, he appealed to Secretary Thomas Cromwell to preserve them, and suggested the propriety of sending them to his Majesty's Library. But of anything further having been done to carry out this idea, we have no account.

Many years afterwards, too late to do much, an effort was made for the preservation of these curiosities, in times when it could hardly have been expected. During the wars between Charles and his

Parliament, Sir Thomas Fairfax, the great Parliamentary leader, did all he could to prevent injury to Literature. He was a gentleman and a scholar, and both at York and Oxford took great pains to save Libraries from being pillaged. He also presented twenty-nine ancient MSS. to the Bodleian, and was to a great extent, the means of saving that Repository.

It may be very true, that of the abbey MSS. there may have been many not worth keeping for anything they contained, old superstitious legends, dull dissertations and the like, but when slaughter is indiscriminate much that is valuable perishes with much that is useless. As mere specimens of calligraphy and exquisite manual skill they ought to have been saved: the proof of which is that such volumes now fetch extravagant, almost fabulous prices.

Leland found very few MSS. at Malmesbury. At the time of his visit, the abbey had been surrendered and the contents of the library had been carried—perhaps thrown—away by “the exceeding rich clothier” who bought the whole monastery and church.

The church itself must have been in a dilapidated state: for the central tower had, he tells us, fallen in, some years before: and that would have brought down probably a large part of the Choir and Eastern part. Upon that tower had stood one of the highest spires in England, whether of stone or wood, we do not know: but in it was the great Bell called St. Aldhelm, which, whenever there was a storm impending, the wise men of Malmesbury used to ring, to drive the thunder and lightning away from the town. The fall of the central spire was probably owing to its having been raised upon a tower that had not been built strong enough to support such a weight. The other tower, a large square one at the West end, was constructed in a still more foolish manner, and being in a feeble state was brought down by the noise of artillery, firing salvos of rejoicing in 1660, on the Restoration of King Charles II. The exceeding rich clothier not being rich enough, had turned all the domestic buildings and offices of the monastery, as well as a small Chapel at the South of the Transept, into a cloth factory and filled them with his looms, which Leland saw: but for the honour of the Town it must be said, that there is not the least evidence of the

church having been ever *willfully* reduced to the state in which we see it.

It is unfortunate that no drawing or plan of the whole monastery or of the church, as it was in its most complete state, has been preserved. From the fragments that remain it is of course possible to construct a representation—at least an approximate one—of the appearance it must have presented when entire. This is the case with most of the old monasteries. There is, indeed, a very remarkable absence of pictures or drawings of most of our ancient historical buildings of all kinds. There is none, so far as I know, of some that would have been very interesting, such as Devizes Castle, Fotheringhay Castle, and many more. It is not impossible that, if anywhere in the world, it might be in the Vatican at Rome, where such relics of our monasteries, at any rate, might be found. I remember being told in Rome that there were stores of documents, relating to our Church Antiquities put away there, every thing in former days having had to be referred to the Papal authorities.

Of the original buildings of the monastery itself, which stood on the North and North-west sides of the church, I believe that nothing is now left, except the lower part of what is now called The Abbey House. The ground on the North side of the church falls away so much that the building most likely stood upon vaults and arches. The ruins of the kitchen constructed in that way, were standing in Aubrey's time. Of the grounds, orchards, gardens, &c., there is also no trace left.

One of the appurtenances was a vineyard. This was originally planted on a hill North of the abbey by a Greek monk named Constantine, a mysterious person, supposed to be an Archbishop in disguise, who had come here for refuge about the year 1030. There is in old surveys frequent mention of vineyards in England, and the name is constantly met with for fields or even streets in towns, as at Bath. But the uncertainty of getting grapes to ripen out of doors in our climate is such, (now at least), that some persons have been led to maintain that the name vineyard merely meant an orchard of such fruit-trees as are used for home-made wines, such as gooseberries or currants. But there is no doubt that at Malmes-

bury there was a real vineyard of grape-vines. In the Abbey Register lately printed by Government, there is a detailed description of the work required, the planting, &c., which leaves no doubt upon the subject.

I have known the experiment tried, by a friend of my own who had plenty of money and was fond of experiments. He established a vineyard on a warm situation in Kent: sent abroad for a variety of grape-vines and spared no expense. It amused him for several years as a plaything: if it injured anybody it was only himself, but it certainly gave employment to several labourers. He was very proud of the wine which he produced, which I have tasted and found as good and pleasant as possible: pure juice of the grape at all events, and so far, uncommon. But it required much perseverance to go on with the vineyard; so uncertain was the crop for want of regular sunshine, that I believe it was at last given up.

Unless the sun shone more steadily in former days than it does in ours, the Abbot of Malmesbury's vineyard must have been, as a speculation, about as successful as the one I have just mentioned. But the worthy abbot might have the same consolation as my friend had. If he could not produce good *wine* in his *vin-yard*, he was safe to supply his neighbours with good *vinegar*.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The following evidence as to Vineyards in England may be useful to those who are interested in the subject.

Vispré, F.X. "On the growth of wine in England," printed at Bath, 1786. Mr. V. had a vineyard at Wimbleton. He says:—"Mr. John Warner, of Rotherhithe, near Southwark, makes good wine from his own vineyards."

Stephen Switzer, vol. ii., p. 266, of his *Ichnographia Rustica*, published in 1742, says, "That Vineyards may be so cultivated in England as to produce large quantities of grapes, and those so well ripened as to afford a good and substantial vinous juice, needs no demonstration; when, in several parts of *Somersetshire* there are at this time, flourishing vineyards, and the vineyard of the late SIR WILLIAM BASSET, in that county, has annually produced some hogsheads of good-bodied and palatable wine, which I have been credibly informed by gentlemen who have drank considerable quantities of it with the greatest satisfaction. Bartholomew Rocque, a gardener at Waltham Green, made wine for thirty years, from a vineyard he had planted in a common field garden: and although the ground was flat the wine was as good as that of *Orleans* or *Auxerre*, in the judgement of some acquaintance of mine still alive. Dr. Shaw made wines from a little vineyard behind his garden at *Kensington*, which I have drank.

The subject of this Paper has strictly been Malmesbury Abbey in its best days *before* the Dissolution : and all I have attempted to do, is just to give a slight outline of the position which, when in its full strength and efficiency, the monastery filled. How it and the rest of the great Monastic System came to be dissolved is a very wide field on which we cannot enter. The monasteries being such large land-owners, filled for centuries a most important space in the social history of England. Their influence extended to every department in the very daily life of the country. Many years have now passed away since the mighty step of abolishing them was taken.

So many other changes have taken place, that we can very well

They equalled many of the lighter wines of France ; and while due care was taken of the vineyard at Hammersmith, a great deal of very good wine was obtained there for sale, yet neither of these were favourable spots. The Bath vineyards might serve as a better example for the husbandman, who should consider only profit from them : the juice of the grapes was sold there as it was pressed from the fruit, and the owners had no further care than managing the ground and gathering. ' I have known ' says Mr. Hanbury, ' good wine made and grapes growing in England, and have drank our *Burgundy* no way inferior, as my taste could find out, to that noted wine which we have constantly imported from that country.' "

The Dean of Ely, Dr. Thomas, supplied the following extract from the archives of the church :—

	£	s.	d.
Exitus Vineti	2	15	3¼
Ditto Vineæ	10	12	2
Ten Bushels of Grapes from the vineyard	0	7	6
Seven Dolia Musti from the vineyard, 12 Edward II.	15	1	0
Wine sold for	1	12	0
Verjuice	1	7	0
One Dolium and one pipe filled with new wine	-	-	-
For wine out of this vineyard	1	2	2
For verjuice out of the same	0	16	0
No wine but verjuice made 9 Edward IV.			

Madox History of Exchequer, i., p. 364, writes : that the Sheriffs of Northamptonshire and Leicestershire were allowed in their account, for the livery of the King's *Vinedresser*, at *Rockingham*, and for necessaries for the vineyard.

Sir Edward Barry, describes the vineyard at Pain's Hill, p. 468. " The ingenious Mr. Miller shews from ancient Records that in many parts of England, and particularly near abbeys and monasteries, good wines were made, and that these places are still distinguished with the name of Vineyards : but how they were rooted up and neglected, there are no clear accounts left. (Speechly on the Vine, 4to, 1790, p. 197.) "

See also Gentleman's Magazine, 1775, p. 513, and 1786, p. 918.

afford to look back upon this with philosophical complacency, and without any of that political or professional excitement which attends the discussion of alterations in our own times. But I think that all parties, even those who may utterly dislike the Monastic system, will at any rate agree in one point, viz., that the whole business of the abolition was grossly mismanaged.

There is no doubt that a change had been for many years impending. The discovery of printing was a heavy blow. But in Henry VIII time, the change was considered a *political* necessity. The Crown was determined to shake off the yoke of Rome. The monasteries, stout champions for the Pope, blocked the way, and at any cost had to be put down. This confiscation of property was a serious step to take, and Henry paused at first, but other things happened to make him less scrupulous. In order to proceed on safer grounds, a Visitation and enquiry were ordered, and the Visitors took care to make the worst of everything. Gross misconduct was reported; but this was only in some of the smaller and most carelessly conducted houses: not in the largest and best: so that to sweep away the whole on account of a few, was like flogging the school all round because a few boys were naughty. But no matter, the King's Supremacy was to be acknowledged. The monasteries would not yield that, and their opposition was fatal to them.

The great *mismanagement* was, that so enormous an amount of ecclesiastical property, which had been in earlier days, by Kings or Nobles, given for National Religious purposes, was so entirely diverted into other channels that hardly any of it was retained for any object either of Religion, Education or Charity. When the King began, he certainly promised that all these things should be provided for carefully, that all should be spent for the use and welfare of the realm: that thirteen new Bishopricks should be appointed: in short, a glorious future. Scarcely one of these fine promises was kept: except the appointment of four or five new Bishopricks, very badly endowed. There might have been a Grammar School founded in every parish in England. There might have been Hospitals and Asylums for all the maladies and infirmities to which Human Nature will be liable so long as Human Nature lasts.

Nothing (so to speak) of this kind was done: so that we are justified in saying that a splendid opportunity—in every sense a golden one, was simply thrown away. I might perhaps say, shamefully thrown away: remembering the avarice and the jobbery with which the plunder was distributed.<sup>1</sup>

So ended the great, the powerful Monastic system in England: and in its best days, in many ways so useful. So ended Malmesbury Abbey: so vanished the Benedictines.

They have however not vanished altogether.

The Orders and the Dignities still survive. We have amongst us still, Benedictines, Carmelites, Dominicans and the like. We have still Abbots and Priors. They are peaceable, learned and diligent Ecclesiastics, not Territorial Princes like their predecessors, and not in any way likely to menace the Civil power of the Realm. Whether there is now an Abbot of Malmesbury or not, I do not happen to know: but if there is and he should come here, he certainly would not find himself as in days of yore, monarch of all he surveyed. He might look for his vineyard, but he would find a Railway Station, and if he looked for pilgrims at the Shrine of St. Aldhelm, travel-worn and foot-sore with, or without, peas in their shoes, I don't know where or when he would be more likely to find them, than in this Town Hall tomorrow evening, after your next "Excursion."

J. E. J.

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<sup>1</sup> As an instance. Thomas Cromwell, son of a Putney blacksmith, was surnamed from the part he took in demolishing monasteries "*Malleus monachorum*," the Sledge-hammer of the monks. The Sledge-hammer's nephew, Sir Robert William, assumed the name of Cromwell, and being in favour with King Henry VIII, obtained at the Dissolution nearly the whole of the lands in Huntingdonshire that had belonged to any Religious House in that county: viz., St. Neot's, Ramsey, Huntingdon, Hinchinbroke and Saltrey or Saltre. See Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*.



## On some Place-Names near Malmesbury, and their Historic Teachings.

**A**NCIENT "Place-Names" in England may, for the most part, be classed under one of *three* general heads.

(1) Those derived from the language of the races, which, as far as we know, were the primitive inhabitants of this country;—these we call **CELTIC**.

(2) Those imported by the Romans, who, for well nigh five hundred years, occupied Britain,—these are **LATIN** words.

(3) Those which we have from the English settlers, who first entering the country shortly after the departure of the Romans in the middle of the fifth century, finally became its conquerors,—these we call **TEUTONIC**.

Of course there are a number of place-names which belong, partly to one, and partly to another of these classes. For example, in the word **FRAMPTON**, which means the *town* (=tún) or village on the river *Frome*, we have, the former part Celtic and the latter Teutonic;—in that of **STRATTON**, the former portion is from the Latin *stratum* (=street) which denoted one of the great Roman roads, and so the whole name means the "village" near such a road.

Now Malmesbury and its neighbourhood happens to be an especially good quarry in which to dig for specimens of local nomenclature: as a noble lord who did me the honor of listening to a similar story about place-names near Salisbury, some twenty years ago, tersely expressed it, a fine field for "verbal engineering." So when my very good friend our Secretary, for about the *twenty-fifth* time, asked for a paper for our annual meeting, and was

most unwilling to take a refusal, I thought I might as well try my hand at a few of these "field-operations."

MALMESBURY, I need hardly tell you, has a history of its own, and a very interesting one it is. It has cherished traditions which stretch back to a time before Malmesbury itself was either an encampment, or a monastery, or a town. The old names borne by this place,—*Caer-dwr* (=the castle by the water) and *Caer-bladon* (=the castle on the Bladon), the last word being the original name of the stream which flows by Malmesbury, and is still known in some portions as "Bradon,"—tell of extreme antiquity. We may believe or not, as we choose, the traditions of the house of nuns hard by, under the direction of Dinoth, abbot of Bangor, in North Wales, which, as early as the sixth century, is said to have been dissolved, for the incontinence of its inmates, by a dignitary who is called the Archbishop of the Saxons. Still such tradition, dim though it be, and unsupported by reliable evidence as regards its details, attests the fact of early Christianity in these parts, and perhaps also of a native Episcopate in Britain. At all events, we may fairly expect to find in local names some "footprints," so to speak, attesting, by their Celtic characteristics, the memory of these early possessors of the country.

A glance at the map moreover shews us, how the Romans also have left abiding traces behind them of their occupation of the country. Two of their great roads are in this immediate neighbourhood. One of them the "Acman-Street" (or "Bath-waye") is on the west; another, the "Ermine-Street," is on the east, and these two meet one another at Cirencester. We may therefore fairly expect to find some memorials of the Romans here. But they are not many; for the Romans never became in any sense *one* with native populations, and they held the country to a great extent as a garrisoned force. Certainly there is no evidence that they ever, to any considerable extent, affected the position or the language of the Celtic races;—any more in truth, than our occupation of India has there affected the native races, or their languages.

We must bear in mind also, that the great and decisive battle which gave the west Saxons possession of this part of the country,

as far north as Cirencester, and westward along the course of the Axe, was fought at *Deorham*—no doubt Dyrham, in Gloucestershire,—at no great distance from Malmesbury. This was the contest in which Ceawlin king of the west Saxons, wrested from the Britons the cities of Bath, Cirencester, and Gloucester. But he kept neither his conquests nor his kingdom. For, some fourteen years afterwards, in A.D. 591, a great slaughter took place at “Wodnesbeorg”—supposed to be Wanborough, near Swindon, but just as likely to be Woodborough, near Devizes—in which Angles and Britons alike conspiring against him—“*conspirantibus tam Anglis quam Britonibus*”—Ceawlin was defeated, and forced into exile. It shews us that, at all events in these parts, the Celtic races lingered still, and that they were a power strong enough to turn the scale of contending parties in favor of the side which they supported. In fact it is doubtful if the Teuton invader, at all events here, finally prevailed over them till some three hundred years after the time of the contest at “Wodnesbeorg;” and then the result was no doubt their subjection, but certainly not, as some would have it, their destruction.

I have dwelt on this especial matter, because I have long felt that the idea which has often been entertained, that “the English conquest was a sheer dispossession and slaughter of the people of the country” was simply and wholly a mistaken one. It is indeed amusing at times to see how defiantly Englishmen in general reject the theory that they are in a great degree of Celtic blood. The theory however is, I believe, a true one. The evidence in favor of it is overwhelming; whilst on the other hand there is absolutely nothing but assumption. Indeed the Englishman ought to rejoice in the fact; for it is the admixture of Celtic blood that has made him a more enterprising, it might almost be said a more vital man, than the Dutchman, or the Dane.

One thing is quite certain, that the Britons maintained their ground in these parts more or less for some centuries after the settlement of the English in the island. History itself implies as much; the object of this paper is to shew that the same fact may fairly be inferred from the many “footprints,” in their place-names, which they have left behind them.

I will now put before you various examples of such "Place-names," belonging to the several classes I have indicated.

(I.) AS TO CELTIC place-names in this neighbourhood.

It is impossible for any one, at all accustomed to the study of local nomenclature, to glance, even cursorily, at a map of the neighbourhood of Malmesbury, without being struck at the large proportion of the names which are clearly of Celtic origin. As a rule, a conquering people adopt, from the language of the natives, those local names which designate the natural features of a country; such, for example, as its rivers, its valleys, and its ancient tracts of wood-land; in truth, in such names it would be not only difficult, but almost impossible to effect changes. In this neighbourhood, we not only have examples of this character, but some in which the English, whilst adopting the Celtic names, added their own endings to them.

Take first of all the name CIRENCESTER. The river on which that town is situated is now called the "Cerne" or "Churn." Originally no doubt the initial letter was not as now a *palatal*, but a *guttural*, and was pronounced "Kerne."—The Romans added the Latin termination to the river-name and called the place *Corinium*; just as they called what is now Marlborough by the name *Cunet-io* because situated on the river Kennet.—The English also took the river-name, and added to it their own form of the Roman *castra*, and so made it *Ciren-cester*, that is the "encampment on the Cerne."

Again the old name of the stream flowing by Malmesbury was the *Bladon*: and so the name of the fortress was originally "Caer-Bladon." The earliest grant to Aldhelm, for his monastery at Malmesbury, by Hlothere (or Lithuari) Bishop of Wessex, was dated from the banks of the *Bladon*. This name appears also as *Braden* (or *Bradon*) and like other streams (such as the Wyley and the Avon) gives name to an adjoining district, the interchange of the letters "l" and "r" being natural enough. Thus, whilst from the Latin "*peregrin-us*" we have our word "*foreign*," we obtain

from its later Italian form "*peligrin-o*" our word "*pilgrim*"; an interesting example enough as shewing how the two now distinct words "*foreigner*" and "*pilgrim*," came originally from the same source.

Then of course there is the river AVON—a generic name for "water" in the Celtic dialect—which by the way has supplanted the old river-name Bladon. Hard by is a place, or rather district, now called AMPNEY, but in Domesday spelt "*Omanie*," and formerly "*Amney*." The former part of this name is most probably a contraction of "Avon." In words common to the Latin and the Welsh, the letter "*m*" in the former, frequently became "*v*" in the latter. Thus the Latin "*firmus*" is the Welsh "*firv*"; and "*termin-us* in like manner becomes "*tervyn*." Moreover, as Lhuyd tells us, "Avon" was also written "Amon." In any case the name *Am-ney* can hardly fail to remind us of the Latin "*am-nis*" (=a river), and if in one place more than another we might expect to find traces of the Romans in local names it would be here, where we are in the immediate neighbourhood of Roman roads, and Roman settlements. There is a hamlet near Foxham, bearing the name AVON, on whose banks it is situated; and close to Tetbury we have a place called AVENING, a word which, from its Anglo-Saxon form "*Æfeningas*," can only mean the dwellers or settlers "near the Avon."

Again, there is the ISIS which flows by Cricklade, one form of a very common Celtic word for "water," and which occurs also in so many other forms, as *Ash—Usk—Exe—Ouse*—and the like. In the place-name EISEY, which is close by Cricklade, you have the river-name slightly modified. ASH-BROOK is an alternative name of one of the Amneys; and no doubt ASH-TON in this neighbourhood means the "village by the water." From a similar source come the former portions also of the following names:—WASH-PORT, near Lidiard Millicent; WASH-BURN, the name of a mill close by Somersford Keynes; and GAUZE-BROOK, close by Hullavington.

Then also in the former part of COLES-BURN and CORS-TON you have the Celtic names of streams. In the Malmesbury Charter we have entries such as the following:—"amnis qui *Cors-broc* vocatur," and "rivulus qui *Corsa-burn* vocatur." Hence from old

Celtic river-names, whatever their precise meaning may be, come such place-names as CORS-TON, and CORS-HAM, and COLE-PARK.

In the name IDOVER, though now I believe applied only to a village near Dauntsey, you have simply the Celtic expression "*y dwfr*," *i.e.*, "the water." The name "Dover" is an Anglicised form of it, and in a Malmesbury Charter relating to Dauntsey, a brook is called "*Ydoure*." In the course of this same stream you have "*Dores-bridge*, the former portion evidently a corruption of the same word, and shortly afterwards "*Thunder-brook*," which, as a learned Celtic scholar has ingeniously suggested to me, may mean "*down-dwr*," that is "a dark or turbid stream."

There is little doubt moreover of the former portion of CRICKLADE being the name of a stream, though that name is now lost, and of the whole word meaning "the water-course of the Crec." The spelling of the name in the Saxon Chronicle—*Creace-gelade*—can hardly admit of any other interpretation. There are streams in Lancashire called the "Crake," and in Kent the "Cray,"—on the latter is Cray-ford—which would seem to be slightly modified forms of the same original river-name.

Then you have such names as *Wire-port*, *Swill-brook*, the *Derry*, (clearly from *dwr*=water), close by Ashton Keynes, all of which have the Celtic element in them. I should not be surprised if "*Cow-bridge*," as regards its former portion, were a corrupt and disguised form of a river-name more familiar to us as the "*Wye*."

But you have this Celtic element not only in river-names, and in places called after them, but also abundantly in other place-names.

For example,—close by Bradenstock is CLACK. This is clearly nothing else than the Celtic "*cleg*," which means a "hill," and the situation of the place alluded to verifies its name. In CLEGG, by Rochdale, you have the term almost in its original form. The English found the same appellation given to a high eminence close by Warminster, but, not understanding it, added a synonym of their own and called it CLAY-HILL; it is however simply a reduplicative.

Then, a large number of names are compounded with the Celtic term *coed* or *coit* (=a wood). In COATE, near Swindon, you have it in almost an original form; in GOAT-ACRE, near Lineham, it is

partially corrupted. Then you have CAT-COMB—CAD-EN-HAM—CAD-LEY—CHAD-ING-TON—all at no great distance, each in their first portion containing the same Celtic word for “wood.” One form of this word, especially in the Cornish dialect, was *cuit*; hence we see how to it we can also trace such names as WHIT-LEY—WHIT-LANDS,—WHEAT-ACRE, and the like.

And then there are a number of local names, which we feel almost instinctively to be from a Celtic source, though we can only by a rough guess assign to them their original forms or meanings. Such are KEMBLE (in old charters spelt “Chemele,”)—Surrendel,—Syrencote,—Binknoll,—Seagry, (formerly Segrete,)—Minety,—Lidiard,—and possibly Oaksey (the Domesday “*Wochesic*”)—all within an easy distance of Malmesbury. So that we may fairly contend, I think, that, in this neighbourhood at least, the Celtic races not only had a firm hold, but retained it for some time after the advancing conquerors had more or less subjected them to their rule.

One other point must be alluded to in illustration of the Celtic element in place-names near Malmesbury. All along what seems to have been a border-line separating the two races at one time, and which stretched from the mouth of the Axe to Wells, and thence northward by Bath right into Malmesbury, you have names still remaining which would seem almost to shew that, for a time, the Britons and the English dwelt side by side, each in their own settlement. The English, as we know, superciliously called the Britons, *Wealas* (=foreigners)—using the term in much the same way as our villagers speak of strangers as “*voreigners*.” For example a “*Welsh-woman*” is equivalent in their tongue to a stranger, as we should say an “*outsider*,” one not belonging to their village or neighbourhood. The Britons, as do also Welsh to this day, called themselves “*Cymry*.”

Now close to Wells we have a place called WALL-COMB, *i.e.*, the “combe of the *Wealas*.” Travelling northwards, we have, close by Camerton, WALLS-MEAD, and hard by is ENGLISH-BATCH. Then a little more north we have, in like manner, on one side ENGLISH-COMBE and on the other WALL-COT. Remembering that these names were all given by the English themselves, surely they are evidence

that the native races maintained a sufficient hold on a portion of the territory to stamp on them the fact of their still inhabiting them as a distinct race.

(II.) We have now to consider what traces in "Place-names" in this neighbourhood the ROMANS have left behind them.

These, as has been already intimated, are not numerous. And it is singular enough, that, though every county bordering upon Wilts has its "*cester*" or "*chester*," (the modern form of the Latin "*castra*" = castle, or encampment), there is none here. In Hants you have Win-*chester*; in Berks, Sil-*chester*; in Gloucestershire, there are Glou-*cester* and Ciren-*cester*; in Somerset, there is Il-*chester*, and Bath was once called Bathan-*ceaster*. You seek in vain for a similar compound in Wiltshire.

The few remaining traces of Roman occupation are found naturally enough in the names of places situated near their great roads. Thus in Easton Grey, a parish through which the "Foss-way" passes, you meet with FOSS-KNOLL; and then again you have FOX-COTE (an evident corruption for Foss-cote) which means the "cotter's dwelling near the fosse."

The name STRATTON (= a village by the *Stratum*, i.e., street or public road) is to be found more than once. We have UPPER STRATTON, and STRATTON ST. MARGARET, not far from Swindon. There is a place of the same name also on the Gloucestershire border.

Near Bedwin, by which a Roman road passed, there have been discovered abundant traces of Roman occupation. BEDWIN BRAIL is probably a modern corruption of the late Latin word "*bruelletus*," which means a small coppice. BURBAGE, which is in the same neighbourhood, and which occurs also in Berkshire and Leicestershire, is not unlikely to be an English form of the Latin *berbiagium*, from *berbex* a mediæval form for *vervex* (= a sheep) which means a sheep-run or pasture. No doubt some local names are due to Roman vestiges, which yet sprung up after a long break in the thread of Roman tradition.

Then again we have, near this place, the name COLD-HARBOUR, one which is invariably found in the vicinity of Roman roads, or of Roman remains. There can be little doubt that the English gave



this name to those villas or stations, which, after the Romans left the country, were unoccupied, and so allowed to fall into ruin. The word *ceald-hereberga* may well mean an exposed and desolate dwelling. Possibly some such dwellings were at times roughly repaired, or modified, so as to furnish a temporary shelter for travellers. A retreat of this kind, from its consisting of bare walls, might well be called "*Cold-harbour*," as a mere shelter against the inclemency of the weather. Such an interpretation at any rate is supported by the circumstance that the name *Kalten-Herberg* is still borne by some inns in Germany to the present day.

(III.) And now as to place names given by the ENGLISH themselves; these are of course numerous enough, and we can mention only a few of them. The original site of the castle, afterwards transferred to Malmesbury, was, according to tradition, at BROKENBOROUGH. In Domesday this manor is represented as containing some *fifty* hides, (probably from 3000-4000 acres), and embracing, as subordinate manors, what are known now as Corston, Cole-Park, Bremilham, Grittenham, and Sutton Benger. The name can hardly mean other than a "*broken-barrow*," that is a tumulus which has been "broken" or "dug into;" so that there were sacrilegious riflers of tombs in the *ninth*, as well as in the *nineteenth* century.

Again GARSDON is simply "*gars-dún*," that is the grass, or it may be the gorse, hill;—STANTON, is the stony village;—WOOTTON, the village by the wood;—SOMERFORD denotes a ford passable only in the summer-time;—RODBOURNE, in the charters *Reod-burne*, is the reedy stream;—CHARLTON, the part of the manor in which the free labourers, called *Ceorlas*, dwelt;—LATTON, originally "*lade-tun*," is, I conceive, the village by the water-course;—SHERSTON is the village by "the boundary," or it may be simply the "*Shire-stone*" marking that boundary, the place itself being on the borders of Gloucestershire.

Then there are many names which seem to be the record of some old owner, or, it may be, some chieftain, which are of much interest.

KEMPSFORD is simply "*Cynmæres-ford*"—a name which is still preserved to us in the Irish title of "*Kenmare*."

CRUDWELL, originally *Creodan-well* (=well of Crida) : a memorial, if not of Crida, the King of Mercia, who was slain in A.D. 593, at the battle of "Wodnesbeorg," in this neighbourhood, at all events of one of the same name.

CUCKHAMSLEY—originally *Cwichelmes-hlæw*, (the latter word meaning a *tumulus*) ; a memorial probably of the English Chieftain Cwihelm, who perished at the same time, and in the same contest, as Crida, just alluded to.

PIMBURY—originally "*Penne-burg*," i.e. the hill or castle of Penda. A King of Mercia of this name, fought with the West Saxons, at Cirencester, c. A.D. 682.

COBERLEIGH—originally "*Cuthbert's-leigh*."

CHEDWORTH—probably the holding of "*Cedde*" or "*Chad*." This surname is of course well known as that of a Bishop of Lichfield ; and the place-name may be the memorial of some name-sake of his.

BRINKWORTH :—an old spelling "*Brenche-worde*," would seem to indicate a similar source as "*Brenches-borow*," the original name of the ancient hundred now called "*Branche*." As in Saxon Charters we perpetually meet with the names "*Brenches-berg*" and "*Branches-cumb*" (Cod-Dipl., 314, 1061), it looks as if the former portion were a *personal* name, whatever its precise form or meaning may have been originally.

DAUNTESY,—in ancient charters it is always spelt "*Domices-eye*," which Leo interprets as "*insula aciei judicii*," that is, "the island of doom," or condemnation and execution. One must always doubt such ingenious interpretations, for they are too often true in inverse proportion to their apparent plausibility. I venture to give a far more prosaic interpretation of this place-name, the more so as the original form seems at the first glance to denote a *personal* derivation. Amongst *old* Frisian names given by Wassenberg is that of "*Domke*," a contraction possibly of the better known "*Dominick*." Dauntesy may originally have been called from an owner or settler bearing the former name. Of course this is simply a guess, which may go for what it is worth.

DRAYCOT,—some fifty years ago, when people were rather crazy about the Druids, and things Druidical, they used to tell us that

the former portion of this place-name was from the Welsh *dryw* (=a Druid) or from an Anglo Saxon *dry* (=a magician). But not only is Draycot too common a name in England—there are no less than *three* in Wilts—to warrant such an idea, but the former portion in ancient charters is spelt “*dræg*.” There is an old Frisian proper name “*Dræge*,” probably the modern “*Drake*,” and which, judging from the crest of the “*Drake*” family, which is a “*dragon*,” is no doubt more allied to “*draco*” than to the domestic web-footed bird called a “*drake*,” that quacks about our home-steads and on our ponds. My own belief, is however, that “*Dray*” —as in *Dray-cot* and *Dray-ton*—is just as likely to be a form of *Drais* or *Dreis*, a contraction of “*Andreas*” which we find in “*Dreiske*” in Germany. As “*Drais*” and “*Dreis*” are Saxon forms for “*Andreas*,” *Drai* and *Drei* will be legitimately formed from *Andrew*. The modern Friesic forms are “*Drewes*” and “*Drew*.”

STRANGERS FARM;—the name of a holding in Dauntsey parish. In the charter relating to “*Domices-eye*” we have one point of boundary called *Strenges-burgels*; that is, the burial-place of someone of the name of *Streng*, or *Strong*. Whatever the precise form of the original name may have been, I believe it has been corrupted into “*STRANGERS*.”

MALMESBURY:—about this place-name there have been not a few guesses. Some tell you that it is from *Maildulf*, a Scot, or perhaps Irish, hermit, who settled here in the earlier part of the seventh century, and laid the foundation of what afterwards became its famous abbey. But even our dear old friend John Aubrey, who had his full share of credulity, says—“*Methinks it is too forced an Etymologie for this place.*” Others will have it, that it is a corruption of “*Aldhelms-bury*,” whilst Bishop Gibson goes so far as to suggest that it contains *something* of *Maildulf* and *something* of *Aldhelm*! His words are “*tum Maildulfum tum Aldhelmi aliquid continet, et ex utroque conflatur*,”—that is, literally, “*blown together*,” or so to speak “*evolved*” from both. That Bede calls this place “*Maildulfurbs*” (=Maildulf’s city) is true; nevertheless its earliest name, after the re-establishment of Christianity here, was most certainly “*Mal-dunes-berg*,” and in Latin it was called “*Monasterium*

Mel-dun-ense." To me it seems clear that the root of the word is the Anglo-Saxon *mæl-dun* (as in Mal-don in Essex), and that it means literally "*Cross-Hill*," or as we might say "*Church-Hill*"; for "*mæl*" designates the image of our Lord on the cross, or what we usually call a crucifix. I do not mean to affirm that the names of its two founders may not have had something to do, in later times comparatively, in modifying the name, and without all doubt the form of "*Maidulfs-berg*" is an ancient one. Still my firm belief is that as "*Cær-Bladon*" was its name in British times, so "*Mæl-dun*" marks the period when Christianity was again planted here. Of course its final syllable—*burg* or *bury*—was not added till the town grew round the castle, or the monastery. This was at a more recent period, the fact that the dividing line of two of the ancient hundreds—*—Cheggelow*, and *Sterkley*—ran right through the middle of the town, proving that the town itself was subsequent to the formation of the hundreds.

CHRISTIAN MALFORD :—originally *Cristes-mæl-ford*, that is the *ford* by *Christ's image* (=a rood or crucifix). The word *Criste-mæl* often occurs in Saxon charters to denote points of boundary. Thus in a charter relating to Niwanham (=Newnham, in Kent) we have a boundary-point described as "*þær þe cristes-mæl stod*," i.e., "*where the crucifix stood*" (Cod. Dipl., 526). This place-name is interesting, as shewing us that, in early days of Christianity in Wessex, it was not unusual to put way-side crosses at points of boundary, or near fords. Some who listen to me will know how common they are in various parts of Europe.

And in passing I may observe, that, as the two last-named places are memorials of the early Christianity of our English forefathers, so such names as WODNES-DIC (=Wansdyke), and WODNES-BEORG, which may be either Wanborough, near Swindon, or Woodborough, near Devizes, as well as TEWES-LEY (near Wanborough), as explained by an expression *Teowes-þorn*, in Cod. Dipl., 174, and as derived from the names of "*Woden*" and "*Tuisco*," two of the deities they once worshipped, are memorials of their previous heathendom.

Of course it would be possible to multiply examples, which would bear remarkable testimony to the influence of those who from time

to time have ruled more or less permanently in these parts of England. Each—whether Briton, Roman, or Englishman—has left behind him characteristic memorials in the place-names that remain,—“foot-prints” which may easily be identified, as first of all impressed by one or other of the three different races.

One point I would fain hope to have established,—namely, the abiding influence exercised by the original British tribes long after the English had obtained a footing in these parts. The theory of their entire destruction seems to me to be entirely a modern invention. The earliest assertor of it was, I believe, William of Newbury, who wrote his chronicle many centuries after the Celt and Teuton had been blended into one people. Doubtless the British chieftains were either slain in battle or forced into exile, but the bulk of the people remained. By degrees they were made subject to the conquerors,—as Malmesbury says “*famulabantur Anglis*,”—that is, they became their servants, or tillers of the ground for them, and were gradually absorbed into the general population. But destroyed they *never* were,—for in that “tongue of land” which stretches from Cricklade to Malmesbury, southwards, some fifty miles long and fourteen broad, they held their ground for many years, and there at all events was still spoken the Celtic tongue long after the English gained a footing in it. “*Vulnerati sed non victi*”—which we may freely translate as “cast down but not destroyed,”—this is the motto of one of the ancient city companies, and it may also be taken as descriptive of the Britons who fought so long and so bravely for their native land. Indeed they maintained the conflict even till the seventh century; nor were they fully subdued, or their nationality destroyed, till a century later, when the Norman conquest bent Celt and Teuton alike under the yoke of the Conqueror.

And all the traditions, that cluster round this deeply interesting place, point to similar results. Put what trust you please in the story of the very early monastery here, under the control of Dinoh, Abbot of Bangor, still I claim for it an establishment of the fact of early communication between Wales and Cær-dur-burg. Bear in mind too what we are told concerning Maildulf, a Scotch or Irish hermit, who came here to settle a century or two later, and may we

not almost assume that there was a language spoken here intelligible enough to one familiar with Celtic dialects, who might hope to find a useful field for his labours. Remember too how the saintly Aldhelm—your saint here, and mine at Bradford—is said to have written a notable book on matters in which the British Church, as was alleged, acted contrary to the purity of catholic faith and practice, on the reading of which many differences between the two churches were healed. And then once more recollect how the church at Cricklade, is dedicated to a Welsh saint, S. Sampson,—a solitary example as far as I know in Wilts,—and how Johannes Scotus—*i.e.*, John the Scot, (or Irishman)—is said to have taught here, an image (as Leland says) having been set up in the abbey-church to his honour,—and surely you have enough to justify you in coming to the conclusion, that Celtic teachers found an appropriate field for their labours in a part of England included by the great Alfred in his will under the title of *Weala-cyn* (=Welsh-kin).

Some of you possibly may think that I am a little too sanguine as to all my remarks carrying instant conviction. But please bear this in mind that my own fore-fathers came from the Principality, whither no doubt many of the Britons, when forcibly deprived of their own inheritance by the Englishman, retreated for safety, and that I do feel some just pride in having within me a few drops of that “blue” blood, which once flowed in the veins of the subdued—but never disgraced—Cymry.

W. H. RICH JONES.

*Bradford-on-Avon,*  
*April, 1883.*

# Extracts from the Records of the Wiltshire Quarter Sessions.

Communicated by R. W. MERRIMAN, Clerk of the Peace.

## REIGN OF QUEEN ELIZABETH.

*(Continued from Vol. xx., p. 341).*

### IX.—RELIEF OF THE POOR.—Poor Prisoners : Maimed Soldiers.

**T**HE power already referred to, of binding poor children as apprentices, was one expressly conferred upon Overseers by the famous "Act for the Relief of the Poor," passed in Elizabeth's reign. Of that oft debated Statute no further debate is here proposed. Its operations were in great part parochial, the principal duties which it laid upon the Court of Quarter Sessions were the levy of contributions "for the relief of the poor prisoners of the King's Bench, and Marshalsea, and also of such hospitals and almshouses as shall be in the said county," and the yearly appointment of two treasurers to receive and administer the contributions so levied. The surplus was to be applied for the relief "of those that sustain losses by fire, water, the sea, and other casualties." Examples abound in the Sessions Minutes of judgments on offences against this act and against the Poor Law which was in force before it. Presentments and punishments are recorded of persons—who neglected to give to the poor—who refused to become collectors for the poor—or to pay their proportion of the rate.

The loss of the great rolls or Sessions Bundles of this reign, may probably have removed the only records which existed of the assessments made by the court on the several parishes within the county; the only rate set forth in the minutes of Elizabethan days, is one for a collection of gaol money given at length at p. 82, *infra*.

Even before civilian indigence had thus been alleviated by a

systematic organization, of which the framework remains to this day, the army and the navy had not been forgotten and the Irish wars furnished a plentiful list of candidates. For the administration of the fund raised for these retired veterans two treasurers had yearly to be appointed; Mr. William Bowlie, and Mr. Edward Estcourt, were appointed at the Trinity Sessions, 41st Elizabeth; and in the two following years; Mr. Thomas Snell, and Mr. Thomas Mompesson—Mr. Edward Long, and Mr. Thomas South—were respectively treasurers.

The following may serve as an illustration of an order in favour of a maimed soldier:—

“Whereas Robert Bungey, of Trowbridge, in the foresaid county, hath served our Sovereign Lady the Queen’s most excellent majesty, in her highness’s wars in Ireland, as a soldier, of the company under Captain Charles Egerton, as it appeareth under his hand, and the commissioners authorized by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, in which the said Robert lost one of his hands to his utter undoing. We therefore, the commissioners for the preservation of her highness’s peace in the county where the said Robert was borne, tendring the distressed and weakened estate of the said Robert, and intending his relief, according to the statute made in the parliament of our said Sovereign Lady the Queen, holden at Westminster, the twenty-ninth day of February, in the thirty-fifth year of her reign, intituled ‘An Act for the necessary relief of soldiers and mariners.’ Do by these presents grant and allow unto the said Robert Bungey, a yearly pension of five pounds, of the sums of money collected and gathered, or to be collected and gathered within the said county, according to the said statute, willing and requiring, and by these presents authorizing the treasurers of the said county for the said collection upon the sight and view hereof, to make payment of the said pension of five-pounds yearly, unto the said Robert, until such time as the same shall hereafter be revoked in the general and open sessions of the peace, to be holden within the said county. And this our grant made in this present sessions of the peace, holden at Marleborough, the first day of October, in the forty-fourth year of the reign of our said Sovereign Lady, the Queen, shalbe their sufficient warrant and discharge for the payment thereof. In witness, &c.,

EDW. HUNGERFORD MILES, WILL. EIRE MILES, JACOBUS LEY, Ar.  
HENRICUS POOLE, JOHN WARNEFORD, Ar. HENRY MARTYN, Ar.

John Danknett, of Sir Arthur Savages’ company, received a pension of five pounds: as did also Thomas Dogett, whose claim was authenticated by “the lorde president,” the Earl of Essex. Among soldiers who had served in Ireland: Christopher Duckett, late a sergeant under Captain Tolkerne, obtained a like annuity: William Shiler, of Purton, who had served under Edward Digges, captain



of one hundred men, in the province of Munster, and Thomas Willis, of Bushton, who had served under Captain Edward North, commanding a similar company, had to be content with pensions on fifty shillings. Andrew Symes, of Cannings, gentleman of a company, in the low countries, under Captain Vavasour, was assisted with ten shillings, to enable him "to return to his Captain."

A jealous eye was evidently kept on these pensions.

At the Trinity Sessions, 41st Elizabeth:—

"It is ordered by the Courte that Robert Lyde shall from henceforth be discharged from his yearlie pencyon allowed unto him for his mayme in the warres, and that the treasurers for the maymed soldiers shall not delyver him anie more money."

If the clerk of the peace was a trustworthy chronicler the justices relented from their severity. "Notwithstanding this order" so writes the officer of the court: "he is at the next Sessions allowed his former pencyon." But at the Trinity Sessions, 1600, Robert Lyde is finally noted as "from henceforth discharged receiving anie more pencion."

If a grateful country, even under stress of statutory compulsion, were comforted by such gratuities the declining days of the retired warrior,—it was a thing not to be tolerated that he should attempt to supplement his income by professional mendicancy. This abuse was expressly forbidden by the Act under which these men drew their annuities, and this wholesome law was vindicated at the Easter Sessions, 44th Elizabeth, in the person of Henry Whatkyns: he was indicted and found guilty, (*"pro felonice vagarant tanquam miles et soldarius,"*) but was leniently set at liberty without judgment.

#### X.—VAGRANCY.

Vagrancy, chronic and ineradicable ailment of the body politic, sorely vexed the social physicians of the day, and defied treatment then, as stoutly as it still defies. And their regimen was trenchant. The penalties imposed on vagabonds by the statutes of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., were of savage severity—burning through the gristle of the right ear with a hot iron of the compass

of an inch, was the punishment of a first offence, and life itself was forfeit for any that "after do fall again into a roguish life."

Licences to beg were expressly sanctioned by the law, and entries of such grants figure in the Wiltshire Minutes: no explanation is afforded of the grounds upon which these concessions were made, but one applicant made out so good a case that he was permitted to range "per totam comitatum."

Illustrations abound of the multifarious penalties inflicted on rogues and vagabonds. In at least one instance sentence of branding the ear is passed upon a woman. Undertakings are entered into by persons willing to afford employment to vagabonds for one whole year, an engagement which was accepted in substitution for the application of the hot ear-iron. Fines are inflicted on persons who failed to punish vagabonds; more than twenty persons were so fined at the Epiphany Sessions, 24th Elizabeth: the lash is liberally and impartially administered, and removals are conducted upon the usual terms, of which the following is a sample:—

"It is ordered that Willim. Tipping, prisoner in the gaole for a wandering pson, and Alice, his wiffe, shalbe whipped, and sent to Coventrie, where the said Tipping was born and last dwelt."

This was all according to law, for the statute enjoined that this valedictory attention should speed the parting guest on his homeward journey.

For incorrigible rogues, the galleys were considered a fitting destination, yet even there their memory was kept alive<sup>1</sup> in the county from which they were committed.

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<sup>1</sup> Mr. Hamilton states that this vote towards the maintenance of persons so sentenced, was merely a compliance with a claim from the lords of the council. He points out that Macaulay is inaccurate in representing the galleys as a novelty first introduced to the notice of Englishmen in 1690. The passage occurs in chap. xvi. vol. iii., of the History of England. "As the line of ships turned the lofty cape which overlooks Torquay, an incident happened which, though slight in itself, greatly interested the thousands who lined the coast. Two wretched slaves disengaged themselves from an oar and sprang overboard. One of them perished. The other, after struggling more than an hour in the water, came safe to English ground and was cordially welcomed by a population to which the discipline of the galleys was a thing strange and shocking."

Michaelmas, 44th Elizabeth :--

"Yt is ordered . . . . by the right honourable S<sup>r</sup> John Popham Knight, lord Cheife Justice of England, and of Her ma<sup>ties</sup> most honourable privie counseile, and other the Justices of the Peace, . . . . that all and eve<sup>r</sup>y suche pson . . . . as shall hereafter at the Gene<sup>r</sup>al Sessions, . . . . be convicted as incorrigible rogues, and there adjudged to be imploied for service in Her Ma<sup>ties</sup> gallies shall have alowed unto them . . . . a yerely pension of three pounds, half-yerely to be paid out of the stock of money collected and levied . . . . for reliefe of the prisoners in the K. Benche and Marshalsey, by the treasurers of the saide collecon, . . . . during solonge time and in such manner as the said Justices shall appoint and set downe."

### XI.—GAOLS AND HOUSES OF CORRECTION.—Constables.

It is a relief to know that the punishments adjudged to vagrants, occasionally stopped short of the branding iron, the galleys, and the halter; and that for these extreme remedies imprisonment was a recognized alternative. Any sessional orders concerning the prisons of Wiltshire in the sixteenth century possess such obvious interest that their transcription in extenso may be pardoned.

The gaol at Fisherton <sup>1</sup> Anger is frequently mentioned, and was no doubt the common gaol for the county, to which (without any specification of locality) reference is often made.

The following extracts relate to the prisoners rather than to the prison.

Easter, 19th Elizabeth :—

"It is agreed yt the Justices in ev<sup>r</sup>y division shall appoint the Churchwardens in eny greate p<sup>r</sup>ishe to gather ij<sup>d</sup> by the weeke. And in eny meaner p<sup>r</sup>ishe i<sup>d</sup> by the weeke for the Relief of the prison<sup>r</sup>s in the coen [common] Gayle. This money to be taken out of the Church box or collection for the poor and to be deliv<sup>d</sup> to the constables of ev<sup>r</sup>y Hundred, and by the constables, to be brought to the next Quarter Sessions and there to be deliv<sup>d</sup> to the Justices of Peace and by them to be appointed to such persons nere the Gaile as they shall think good—This order to take his beginning from our Lady's day last, and so to continue. And those collections to be brought from time to time to every Quarter Sessions in form aforesaid, untill order be taken by the Justices to the contrary."

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<sup>1</sup> The gaol of the City of New Sarum is also mentioned, for as an excuse for his non-appearance at the county quarter sessions Walter Cotes, of Barford St. Martin, pleaded that he was languishing in the city gaol.

**Ephiphany, 20th Elizabeth:—**

“It is orderyd at this Courte, that John Mogaridge, of Alderbury, in com<sup>t</sup> Wiltes, gent, and Gyles Awsten, of Fysherton Anger, gent, are appointed distributors of the money collectyd for the relief of the prisoners committed to Fisherton Anger.

In the next, the scheme for providing a house of correction begins to take form.

**Trinity, 20th Elizabeth:—**

“In<sup>p</sup>imis yt is ordered and agreed that ij<sup>d</sup> of evry p<sup>s</sup>he shalbe by the constables of ev<sup>r</sup>y hundred weekly gathered and levied from the Feast of S<sup>t</sup> Michaell tharchangell wch was in the yere of O<sup>r</sup> Lord God, 1577, untill the Feast of S<sup>t</sup> Michaell, tharchangell next. And the same money soe gathered for asmuch as resteth behinde, and not yett gathered, to be w<sup>th</sup> all convenient speede collected and deliv<sup>d</sup> to the collectors for the relief of the pson<sup>s</sup> and for the resydew hereafter to be dewe, to be collected and alsoe answered monethlye unto the said collectors untill the said Feast. And for such as have payed for any pte of the yere of A<sup>o</sup> 1576, to be discharged for payment or collection of soe much in this yere as the sume soe collected in A<sup>o</sup> 1576, amounteth unto. And yt is also ordered and agreed that the Justices of the peace of ev<sup>r</sup>y divysion w<sup>th</sup>in this shyre shall forthw<sup>th</sup> delyver the bokes of the subsydye to the constables of ev<sup>r</sup>y hundred whoe thereuppon shall forthw<sup>th</sup> collect and gather of ev<sup>r</sup>y pson being sett att v<sup>l</sup> in goods and uppwards, and at xl<sup>s</sup> in land and soe uppwards, iiij<sup>d</sup> of ev<sup>r</sup>y pounce for and toward the p<sup>r</sup>vyision of a house of correccion for vaccabonndes and idle people within this countie, wch money being gathered shalbe by the constables of ev<sup>r</sup>y hundred throughe oute this whole countie brought to the next Sessions of the Peace, tobeholden within this countye, there to be payed and delyvred as by the discretion of the said Justices of the Peace, or the more pte of them, being there p<sup>r</sup>sent shalbe thought meete and convenient for and toward the purpose aforesaid.

“For the better reliefe of wch pson<sup>s</sup> and to thent that those should be relyved that are sent to the gayle that have noe habyltyie or relief of themselves. That ev<sup>r</sup>y justice of the peace within ev<sup>r</sup>y devysyon shall upon the sending of any vacabonnde or other p<sup>r</sup>soner to the gayle ex<sup>o</sup> [examine] the habyltyie of the same pte. And thereppon yf they shall finde that the same pson have any habyltyie to relyeve himself, that then they shall take order for the sending of the same pson<sup>s</sup> reliefe of his goods monthly by the communicon of the constable of ev<sup>r</sup>y such hundred. And also that ev<sup>r</sup>y of the same Justices shall make a note in the booke of his Mythym<sup>o</sup> [mittimus] to this effect, that is to say this pson hath habyltyie to be relyved of his own goods and otherwise to certyfie for how long time his goods will serve toe relyve him. And then theruppon ev<sup>r</sup>y such pson soe certified to have habyltyie to have noe reliefe of the money collected for the p<sup>r</sup>son<sup>s</sup> a<sup>s</sup> aforesaid.”

In the next the site of the new building is all but settled.

**Michaelmas, 20th Elizabeth:—**

“Itm it is ordered and agreed that such collections as be behynde for the

relief of the prisoners in any hundred or devisiōn, shall be forthwith collected and gathered and delivered to the collectors assigned for that purpose, who are to yeild accompt to the justices of the peace, at the next Sessions.

“And it is further ordered and agreed, that there shall be from hensforth collected through oute the whole Shire the sum of xl<sup>l</sup> to be gathered by equall consideration to be had what shall be gathered in every devisiōn for the relief of the said prysoners, wherein it is agreed that upon thappearance of the said Churchwardens before the said Justices in their devisiōns, they shall take a note of all the parishes within their devisiōn, and therin consider of the bygnes or smallnes of their parishes and thereuppon at the next Sessions to agree upon a Taxation what evy parish shall be taxed at and thereuppon take order for the collection and payment thereof accordingly.

“It is also agreed that the order taken for the gathering of iiij<sup>d</sup> of the pounce of such as be sett at v<sup>l</sup> and upwards, and xl<sup>l</sup> in land, shall contynue and that the said collections be made and the money answered by the constables of evy hundred within evy devisiōn, at the next Sessions of the peace, where further order shall be taken for the obtayning and making of a house of correction for vagabonndes and Roges, and in the meantime It is agreed that a Letter be directed unto my L. Treasurer to be a mean to Her M<sup>tie</sup> for the obtaining of a piece of the Castell of the Devizes, where the said house is thought fittest to be.

“And it is agreed that Sir John Danvers shall have the carrye of the said letters and solyciting of this cause unto his Lordshipp, and if any charges shalbe by him layde oute in this behalf, the same shalbe borne and discharged by the subjects of this County by the taxation of the Justices of this County.”

**Hilary, 21st Elizabeth :—**

“First it is agreed that Mr. George Burly and Mr. John Trew who are appointed at the Quarter Sessions holden next after Easter, shall forthwith take upon them the execution of their offices according to the statute for that purpose made in Anno ix., of the Queenes majesty, and that they shall disburse and lay out such sums of money either for the purchasing of the house of correction and for making of such convenient rooms, providing of such stocks and stores and provisions for correction, as by the consideration and appointment of Sir John Danvers, Sir Edward Baynton, Knights, William Brouncker, and Michaell Earnly, Esquires, four Justices of the peace of this County, or by any two of them, shall be from time to time thought meet and convenient, which said Justices are now agreed upon and desired to take the whole care and consideration of the provision and ordering of the said house of correction, and of and for the provision for such other Officers Keepers and purposes to be put in use and done agreeable to the said statute which said Justices shall and may also from time to time upon their warrant take and receive for and towards the purposes aforesaid of Mr. John Vennard such sums of money as they shall think meet.

“Item it is further now ordered and agreed that such hundreds as have not at this time paid in unto Mr. Vennard the sums of money wherewith the persons therein inhabiting are charged to pay after the rate of /4<sup>d</sup> the pound from £5 upwards in goods and 40<sup>s</sup>/ in land that the Constables of the same hundreds shall collect gather and make payment thereof unto the said Mr. Vennard at or before the Feast of the purification of Our Lady next as they will answer to the contrary at their perils.”

At the following Easter Sessions, order is made to "call the constables of every hundred to accompt to see whether they have made their collections for the house of correction . . . and that the money behinde be forthwith gathered and delivered to Mr. Vennard." At the same time the collection for the relief of prisoners was continued at twopence of every parish weekly, until further order be taken.

At the Easter Sessions, 22nd Elizabeth :—the officers of the house of correction are continued for another year.

At the Hilary Sessions, 28th Elizabeth :—occurs the not particularly lucid entry :—

"Md that the consideration of the gaol money is referred to the order of Mr. Edward Penruddock Mr. John Penruddock and Mr. Giles Estcourt or to two of them."

While at the Easter Sessions, 32nd Elizabeth :—are found the following more intelligible words; characteristic of questions which have arisen within living memory in relation to another Fisherton Prison and another claim of way-leave :—

"It is ordered at this Sessions by the Justices that Mr. Richard Gauntlet shall have seven feet of breadth to part the land at Fisherton for a way to his orchard and garden that he bought of Mr. Barrow adjoining to the gaol at Fisherton Anger."

The collection of the gaol money furnishes the only example found among the Elizabethan Minutes of an assessment to a County Rate set out in detail. It is in the words following :—

"Wilts. A Rate by the Justices at this Sessions being for the levyinge money for the Gayle

For somuch dew to Weekes as appeareth	xxvj <sup>l</sup> xiiij <sup>s</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>
For reparacons about the Gayle layd out } by the Shreife as appeareth by his bill }	vij <sup>l</sup> vij <sup>s</sup>
Morr for devidinge certeyne Romes there	x <sup>l</sup>
Sum' xlv <sup>l</sup> iiij <sup>d</sup>	

It is to be levied upon these vj divisions viz

Imprimis Thearle of Pembroke his division	ix <sup>l</sup>		
S <sup>r</sup> James Mervyn his division	vij <sup>l</sup>	x <sup>s</sup>	
S <sup>r</sup> Tho. Wroughton's division	vij <sup>l</sup>	x <sup>s</sup>	
S <sup>r</sup> John Danvers division	vij <sup>l</sup>		
S <sup>r</sup> Edward Bayntons division	vij <sup>l</sup>	x <sup>s</sup>	
S <sup>r</sup> Walter Hungerford's division	vi <sup>l</sup>		
James Mervyn	John Danvers	John Penruddock	
Edw. Penruddock	Henr. Knyvet	Hen. Poole	
Henry Willoughby	Tho. Wroughton	Willm Reade	

Of the territory covered by these several divisions no contemporary particulars are forthcoming, but comparison with a description of the divisions as distributed in the succeeding reign suggests the following conjecture:—

*Sarum Division* (The Earl of Pembroke's). The Hundreds of Alderbury, Amesbury, Branch and Dole, Cawdon and Cadworth, Chalke, Downton, Elstub and Everleigh, Frustfield, and Underditch.

*Warminster Division* (Sir James Mervin's). The Hundreds of Damerham South, Dunworth, Heytesbury, Mere, Warminster, and Whorwelsdown.

*Marlborough Division* (Sir Thomas Wroughton's). The Hundreds of Highworth Cricklade and Staple, Kingsbridge, Ramsbury, Kinwardston, and Selkleigh.

*Devizes Division* (Sir John Danvers'). The Hundreds of Potterne and Cannings, and Swanborough.

*Chippenham Division* (Sir Edward Baynton's). The Hundreds of Calne, Chippenham, Damerham North, and Malmesbury.

*Westbury Division* (Sir Walter Hungerford's). The Hundreds of Bradford, Melksham, and Westbury.

Apart from the maintenance of a common gaol at Fisherton Anger, (dignified by the title of "Gaola Domine Regine") for the whole county; or the provision of a general house of correction at Devizes; it was clearly in contemplation that one such house of correction should be kept on foot within every hundred as is apparent from the following order made at what seems to have been an adjournment (held at Devizes, on the 15th October, 1600,) of the regular Michaelmas Sessions, held at Marlborough, on the preceding 30th September.

Michaelmas 34th Elizabeth:—

"Whereas at the Gen'all Sessions of the peace, holden at M'lborough in the Countie aforesaid the last day of September now last past before S<sup>r</sup> John Popham, Knight L. Cheif Justice of England and other justices of the peace within this countie an order was then made that a house of correction sholde be appointed in ev'ry hundred within this Countie and necessarie instruments therin to be provided for the punishim<sup>t</sup> of such offenders as shold and hereafter shall be sent thither And that an Officer w<sup>ch</sup> shoulde be named a Corrector shoulde be appoynted in ev'ry such house for to punish the said offenders And that an yarleie stipend

shoulde be allowed to the said Corrector for his attendance and paynes In performance of wch order the said justices now assembled doe order and appoynt that for the Hundred of Pottern and Canninges the house of correction in former tyme w<sup>thin</sup> the Devizes being also w<sup>thin</sup> the said hundred of Pottern and Canninges shall now also hereafter be employed for the punishment of such offenders as shalbe sent thither by virtue of the said order And that Alexander Webb of the Devizes aforesaid shalbe the said Corrector and have allowed him yerlie for his stipend xxx<sup>s</sup> to be levied of the inhabitants of the said hundred and of the inhabitants of the Burrough of the Devizes according to the said order.

“And also that the house called the Church house in Urchfont w<sup>thin</sup> the hundred of Swanborough shall likewise be employed for the house of Correction for the same hundred And that John Heyes of Urchfont aforesaid shalbe Corrector there And that he shall have yerlie for his stipend xx<sup>s</sup> to be levied as aforesaid.

“And that the blynde house in Great Bedwyn w<sup>thin</sup> the hundred of Kynwardston shall likewise be employed for the house of Correction for the same hundred And that Willm Percy of Great Bedwyn aforesaid shalbe Corrector ther And that he shall have yerlie for his stipend xx<sup>s</sup> to be levied as aforesaid.”

The hundreds as administrative areas here figure in a position of some importance ; each is dignified by the establishment within it of a separate place of confinement, which it is also called upon to maintain. But it is nevertheless the Court of Quarter Sessions which prescribes these arrangements and it may be doubted whether their introduction had the effect of enlarging in any sensible degree the executive powers of the high constables.

These functionaries (holding an office of venerable antiquity) were elected, and no doubt sworn in, at the Quarter Sessions. Indeed a suggestion that the constable of the hundred of Kingsbridge was exercising his office unsworn sufficed for an order of the court that he be examined on this point by Sir Henry Knyvet. Their term of office was limited by the court to three years. To the Quarter Sessions also did the hundred juries make their presentments when the matter of them was of a magnitude which lay beyond the jurisdiction of the hundred court. On one occasion a string of presentments is entered emanating from the jurors of the Borough of Devizes.

## XII.—COUNTY RATES.

The two following extracts are proofs that a careful supervision was exercised over the collection of rates ; and that the power which



the Act for the Relief of the Poor gave of compensating losses by fire was not allowed to lie dormant.

Michaelmas, 1600 :—

“It is ordered that Sr James Mervyn Knight, Carew Rawleigh, and Edward Estcourt Esquiers shall call before them the constables of Underdich and such other pson that have ben constables whome the said Justices shall thinke fitt of the hundreds of Cawdon and Cadwor<sup>th</sup> and Chalke and examine them what overplus of money is remaining in their hands w<sup>ch</sup> they have collected of their hundredes for anie service whatsoever and if there be anie founde remaying the said Justice to distribute the same amongst the inhabitants of the same hundredes according to their discretion.

“Forasmuch as it appeareth upon evident pfe (proof) that John Roming of Catcombe in the pishe of Hilm<sup>ton</sup> had upon May daie last his houses and goodes burned and consumed to the value of Two hundred poundes at the leaste It is therefore ordered that the said John Roming shall have towards his releife the some of Tenn poundes of money, w<sup>ch</sup> said some shalbe payde him by the Treasurers for the Hospitalls and poore people of this Countie.”

A longer and more formal entry and a more liberal grant (of £50) ensued upon, no doubt, a much more destructive fire which, on the 27th September, 1601, at Castlecombe, did special injury to six persons named in the order of the Court.

Michaelmas, 43rd Elizabeth :—

“It is agreed . . . that the sevrall divisions of this Countie may towards all Her Ma<sup>ties</sup> services be equally and indifferently taxed and charged and as nere as may be in an even proporcon and that a greater burthen maie not be laide upon any division than upon on an other That Sir William Eyre and Sir Francis Popham Knights, or Henry Martin Esqre in his absence, Henry Pole, Henry Sadler, Henry Willoughby, and Alexander Tutt Esquiers shall between this and the next Quarter Sessions . . . consider and take some paines to inform themselves as nere as maie be of the true estate of everye the said sixe divisions and thereupon to advise what proporcon of charge willbe fitt tobe imposed upon everye of the said divisions towards everye of Her Ma<sup>ties</sup> saide services that none of the saide divisions be overcharged as in time past it hath been conceyved by some they have ben, and others to much spared, and that the said Comittees shall at the next Quarter Sessions make the rest of the Justices of the Peace acquainted with there travaile and opinions thereupon whereupon some present order maie be then finally taken howe the charges for the said services shallbe thence further rated upon each of the saide divisions and in the meane time the rates agreed on at this Sessions and set downe under our hands to stande in force

Jo Popham  
Edward Hungerford  
Joh Warnford  
Edw Estcourte

Wm Eyre  
Wm Baylif  
John Dautesey  
Henry Martyn ”

## XIII.—HIGHWAYS AND BRIDGES.

The loss, already deplored, of the "Great Rolls," of date parallel to the minute books of Elizabeth's reign, has no doubt withdrawn the solution of many of the entries to be found in the latter. The mere statement that such and such a tithing was taxed by the court at such and such a sum, leaves the purpose of the taxation a matter of conjecture. From the amount of the levy and from the context of the passage recording it, a guess may be made at its object, and sometimes the cause of the impost is explicitly stated. Among such causes the claims of highways and bridges assert themselves at no long intervals.

Although of local rather than general interest, a few extracts under this head may be excused.

Assizes at New Sarum, 26th February, 20th Elizabeth, before John Jeffreys, Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and Edmund Anderson, Serjeant at law. Traverse of an indictment and presentment against the inhabitants of the parishes and townships within the Hundred of Frustfield, for non-repair of the Queen's highways called Fursy Lane, and Tychborne Lane. Richard Gabell, and Thomas Bond, were pledges.

Later on, the tithing of Smythcott, pleaded successfully that a way about which they were called to account, was not in their tithing; Purton threw itself on the mercy of the court and paid five shillings.

Wilton appears as a special sufferer; Ditchampton, Frog Lane, and another road unnamed, are mentioned as invaded by obstruction or nuisance; Stephens Hill, in Lockeridge; Boytell Street, in Calston; and a nameless road in "Orston Mary," figure as thoroughfares which for one reason or another, were impassable.

The following is illustrative of statute labour:—

Easter, 22nd Elizabeth:—

"Md to discharge the process of those whose names do follow for caryage to the Highways in Mere." [Nineteen names are appended.]

Presentments of persons in relation to highways were frequent: whether they pointed to a private or an official responsibility does not always plainly appear.

## Trinity, 23rd Elizabeth :—

“Md that I move my masters at this quarter Sessions for the fine (of) Rychard Dear of Myddleton that he may be at (P) his fine for Myddleton wey for that it is repaired and to discharge the process thereof.”

## Assizes at New Sarum, 30th August, 18th Elizabeth :—

“Md to discharge John Webb of Swaynswick for the presentments of the highways by Mr. Read’s order.”

In the following the *alias* is suggestive of an inclination to disguise the memory of an inconvenient easement :—

“Fine (5l.) of Thomas Mylles . . . . of Warminster yeoman on an indictment for obstructing an highway called a law path across a close called *pathclose otherwise parkclose*.”

The minutes as to bridges, exhibit an unwillingness on the part of the court to “take over” any structures which they can leave to the charge of any other hands.

## Epiphany, 22nd Elizabeth :—

“The fine of the tithing of Mylbourne within the parish of Malmesbury for half of the bridge called Holloway Bridge and for the Queen’s highway from the bridge as far as Whitchurch Marsh is taxed by the Court at 5s.”

The tithing of Burton Hill is taxed in like amount, and their default (whatever it may have been), was to be corrected by Midsummer “otherwise that process be made again.”

## Trinity, 26th Elizabeth :—

“Md to say that the way called Holloway’s Bridge is in the parish of S<sup>t</sup> Paul’s in Malmesbury and so are all the tenements of the Abbey.”

“Md it is ordered by the Court that Adam Archard shall bear the eighth part from time to time of the charge of Holloway’s Bridge of the part next to the town of Malmesbury And that the Burgesses of the town of Malmesbury to discharge the residue.

“The inhabitants of the parish of St. Paul in Malmesbury are taxed by the Court at 2<sup>s</sup>/6<sup>d</sup>.”

With equal alacrity did local authorities and private persons disclaim any desire to be at the charge of these bridges.

## Trinity, 25th Elizabeth :—

“The inhabitants of Keevil plead not guilty to an indictment for non-repair of the Queen’s highway called the Lane and of the bridge called Baldnam Bridge.”

So did the tithing of Tytherton Kelloways as to a bridge there ; so did South Newton, as to Burdensball bridge ; and so John and Edward Fauston as to Milbridge, Downton.

The bold front maintained by Tytherton Kelloways, seems to have involved Langley Burrell in an unreasonable prosecution.

Trinity, 26th Elizabeth :—

“At this Sessions it is considered by the Court that the Inhabitants of the parish of Langley Burrell go quit and without day upon an indictment against them for Kelloways bridge for that such indictment is not sufficient in law to put them upon their defence.”

The bridge between Quidhampton Mill, and the Marsh, was at the last Quarter Sessions, held in Elizabeth's reign, the subject of a formal presentment by the grand jury, whose finding was as follows :—

“The grand inquest for our Lady the Queen present within Court that the long bridge between Quidhampton Mill and the Marsh is too narrow by two feet, by reason whereof many of the lieges of the said Queen have fallen into the hole there to the great peril of the said lieges and to the common nuisance &c And that the inhabitants of Quidhampton ought to repair and amend the said bridge and have been wont so to do from time whereof the memory of man to the contrary exists not.”

Crane Bridge for a time went a begging for a custodian.

Easter, 32nd Elizabeth :—

“The Inhabitants of the Hundred of Branch and Dole plead not guilty to an indictment and presentation for the non-repair of Crane Bridge.”

Easter, 34th Elizabeth :—

“The fine of Fisherton Anger for Crane Bridge is taxed at 10s.”

Other bridges fell to the lot of other places.

Epiphany, 20th Elizabeth :—

“The Tithing of Garsdon is taxed at 3<sup>s</sup> 4<sup>d</sup> for non repair of a bridge called Garsdon's Lane.”

Epiphany, 23rd Elizabeth :—

“The fine of the Inhabitants of Manningford Brues and Newnton is taxed at 3, 4<sup>d</sup> a piece And it is promised of both sides to amend the bridge for wch they are indyghted by midsomer next.”

## Epiphany, 42nd Elizabeth :—

“Fyfield [which particular Fyfield is not disclosed] is fined 6<sup>s</sup> 8<sup>d</sup> for a bridge in decay.”

## Easter, 42nd Elizabeth :—

“It is ordered by the Justices that some of the inhabitants of the parishes and hundreds adjoining to the bridges called Milford bridge, Muttons bridge, S<sup>t</sup> Thomas’s bridge, Crane bridge, Harnam bridge, and Burdensball bridge, shall be sent for to come before some of the Justices of the peace nearest dwelling thereabouts to testify who ought or have used to repair the same bridges to the end that against the next Assizes [interlined instead of the word “Sessions” first written and then struck out] such order may be taken touching repairing of the same bridges as to justice shall appertain And that in the mean time all process upon any presentments or indictments touching the same bridges shall be stayed.”

## Easter, 44th Elizabeth :—

“It is ordered at the Sessions that some of the inhabitants of North Bradley who have disbursed the sum of £40: 9d about repairing of Rodebridge may repair to some of the justices of the peace within that division who will be pleased by precept or otherwise to call before them some such persons of every tithing within the foresaid hundred of Wherwelsdown and equally tax and assess every tithing of the said hundred to such equal rate as they shall think meet towards the payment of the said sum of £40 and 9d and thereupon to make such rates for the levying of such taxation as to the said justices shall be thought fit according to the statute in that behalf ordained. By the Court.”

Burdensball Bridge rejected of South Newton, in 1600, was disclaimed by Wilton three years later.

## Epiphany, 45th Elizabeth :—

“Whereas divers controversies have been had and moved for concerning the repairinge of a bridge betweene Wilton and Burdensball in this Countie of Wilts being the Queen’s Highe leading from Sarum to Wilton And for that yt dothe not yett appeare what particular place or person ought to repaire the same and the said bridge lately . . . . was so ruinous and decaied that the Queene’s liege people could not pass over the same without hurt to themselves or there goods and cattells. And whereas at the request of Giles Tooker Esq one of H.M. Justices . . . . the same bridge . . . . was repaired and amended by Walter Sharpe Maior of Wilton, John Puxton gent, and Andrew Mathews It is therefore ordered . . . . That the doinge and repairinge thereof shall not bynde the said Maior Puxton and Mathews or any of them . . . . to repaire the same bridge or to contribute to the charge thereof more than any other inhabitant within the said Countie unles they were or shalbe therewith chargeable or ratable to the same *per curiam*.”

## XIV. — DWELLINGS OF THE POOR.—Maintenance of Infants.

The unemployed were, as has already been stated, liable to be set to work in a very unceremonious fashion, and the quest for employment must have been rendered doubly difficult by the rigorous laws then current concerning the dwellings of the poor.

Among the many acts which could not be legally performed unless under a magisterial licence, was that of building a cottage. Forty shillings per month was the penalty on any such unlicensed "habitation or dwelling, whereunto four acres of ground shall not be assigned." The statute regulating this matter was the "Act against the erecting and maintaining of cottages"; and that it was faithfully observed in Wiltshire, the sessions minutes afford abundant testimony. Licences are mentioned as having been applied for and granted, in every part of the county. The consent of the lord of the manor or lord of the soil, was generally stipulated for. The assent of Edward, Earl of Hereford, is specified as a necessary condition for licenses to build at Ambrosbury, and in the Manor of Titcombe, ("*ita quod dominus Hertford . . . aggreaverit*"), and the like of Doctor Bilson as to Durnford, (*si accordabit*). The Manors of Pewsey and Stert are only to be invaded with the sanction of their lords.

And if behind the back of the justices a man succeeded in running up such a tenement, his adroitness availed him little. "If John Hicks of Maddington," so ran the order of the court at the last sessions of this reign, "will not assent to the pluckinge downe of the cotage lately erected by William Giles at Maddington aforesaid and remove the inmates by him placed and suffered to inhabit contrary to the statute" then the overseers were to increase proportionately their assessment on John Hicks to the relief of the poor. And that such pluckings down and removals were seriously proposed and at times sternly carried into execution, the following memorial, entered shortly after the judgment on John Hicks, sets beyond doubt.

"Upon the humble petition of George Browne and divers others inhabitants within the Pische of Stert in the fores<sup>d</sup> Countie exhibited unto this Court thereby enforlinge that there is an order made by John Toppe gent and the Steward of

the Mannor of Stert at the Court Baron of the same Mannor that all under ten<sup>ts</sup> shall depte there houses w<sup>th</sup> there families albeit as the saide Browne further shewed that as well he himself and the said other inhabitants being under tennts there have dwelt w<sup>th</sup>in the fores<sup>d</sup> p<sup>is</sup>he of Stert by the space of xx<sup>v</sup> yeres past and upwards and duringe all the saide term have behaved them selves well and honestly and ben of good behaviour all wch not w<sup>th</sup> standinge by reason of the fores<sup>d</sup> order made in the said Court Baron the saide poore peticon<sup>s</sup> are daylye thretned to be turned out of there houses and like to lye in the streets as by the said peticon maye appeare Yt is ordered by the Court that the matter of the saide peticon shall be referred to the consideracon of the Churche wardens and ov<sup>r</sup>seers of the poore of the saide P<sup>is</sup>he of Sterte to the intent that they maye examine the truthe thereof and take such course therein as shalbe fitt, or otherwise to certifie there opinions and doings therein at the next gene'all Sessions of the Peace to be held w<sup>th</sup>in this Countie that thereupon the Court of Sessions may take such order therein as shall stande w<sup>th</sup> law and justice." p cur.

There may have been a touch of bravado in this threat of the steward's. Already, and upon this very subject, some little conflict of jurisdiction had arisen between the Court Baron and Court of Quarter Sessions, for at the Easter Sessions 44th Elizabeth, the latter court had ordered :—

“That the Lord of the Manor of Stert and the inhabitants of the same shall permit and suffer Anthony Swanborowe to inhabit and dwell in Stert aforesaid yf he procure and obtayne an house for his habitation and dwelling at a rent of any of the said inhabitants *any order of the Court of the said Mannor to the contrary notwithstandinge.*”

But even this chivalrous intervention on Swanborowe's behalf is guarded by a careful proviso “that he shall not erect any newe cotage there contrary to the laws and statutes of this realm, &c.”

The resolute opposition (of which the foregoing is an example) offered to the localization of any inhabitant likely to establish a claim on the rates, was equalled by the solicitude with which the tithing, parish, or hundred, sought to avoid any liability for the sustenance and support of base-born children, and no pains were spared to trace the person rightly chargeable with the cost of their maintenance: when discovered, the erring parents were not infrequently treated with the favourite prescription of a flogging, and wherever it was possible an order was made on the father for the maintenance of the infant. The age of twelve years was that to which such orders were limited and the weekly payments vary from fourpence to a

shilling. In one case the magistrates out of sessions seem to have been over lenient: they neither appointed any set time during which their order was to run, nor did they prescribe any punishment for the breach of morality. But the court in an elaborate entry made good any short coming in either respect: in the matter of weekly payment they imposed the considerable allowance of twelve pence per week; in the matter of punishment they ordered for these parents and for all such others a public whipping on market day. In another instance the hundred which had been at the charge of maintaining an infant, relieved itself by obtaining an order against a particular tithing, which it was ordained "shalbe taxed and rated by the yardland."

#### XV.—WOODS.

Some other miscellaneous orders are worthy of notice. Among these was the preservation of woods in accordance with the Act of the 35th Hen. VIII., cap 17. The preamble of that Act described the King as "perceiving and right well knowing the great decay of timber and woods . . . to be such, that unless speedy remedy in that behalf be provided there is great and manifest likelihood of scarcity and lack, as well of timber for building . . . houses and ships, and also for fewel and firewood." The Act ordained, that in all coppices which "shall be felled at twenty-four years growing or under" there should be left for every acre of wood "twelve standils or starers of oak": deficiency in oak was to be made good with elm, ash, asp, or beech. Woods over which there were rights of common of pasture were not to be cut till a fourth part had been divided off and enclosed, then the enclosed portion fell within the foregoing restrictions. If the Lord of the Manor and the Commoners did not agree on this division, two justices appointed at Quarter Sessions had power to act.

Of such proceedings, the following order is an illustration.

Epiphany, 44th Elizabeth:—

"Yt is ordered by this Court that S<sup>r</sup> James Mervyn Knight, S<sup>r</sup> Walter Longe Knight, Jasp<sup>r</sup> Moore, Henry Willughby, and John Dautesey Eq<sup>r</sup> or any two of them shall at there speed and convenient leasure repaire to the wood ground called Ligh wood w<sup>th</sup>in the p<sup>is</sup>he of Westbury or to some place nere thereabout



and call before them the borderers and comoners in the same wood and thereupon to sever devide and laye forthe suche fourthe part of the same wood to be enclosed sold and felled by the lords or owners of the sale of the same wood accordinge to the statute of xxxv H 8 and further to doe and execute such thinge and things as by the said Statute or otherwise they are auctorised to doe conc'ninge the p'mises And of there doings therein shall certifie this Court at the next Gen'all Sessions of the Peace."

The following entry, of earlier date, may possibly have reference to the same statute.

Epiphany, 21st Elizabeth :—

"The Courte hath taken this order that all the grounds in Lydyard that have ben staked and markyd out by Fardinando Malyn William Garrerd and Adryan Fry shall remayne in state as now it is untyll the next assyses."

#### XVI.—RESTITUTION.

Statutes of the reigns of Henry VI. and Henry VIII. had conferred on the magistracy certain summary powers of restitution affecting either land or chattels, which had been forcibly seized or wrongfully detained. The pages of the Elizabethan Minutes bear frequent entries of the issue of writs of restitution, and in one of these, Robert (Home) Bishop of Winchester, is involved, but whether as a litigant or a justice is not apparent. These entries are for the most part meagre enough, but in a few instances some narrative of the transaction is vouchsafed.

One of these might well relate to the partial surrender of the farm house on a change of tenancy.

Michaelmas, 27th Elizabeth :—

"Md it is ordered by the Courte that the possession of the hall and the roomes within the Ferme house of Collingbourne now in question shalbe redelyvered to Richard Money according as Mr. Willm Dannyell Esquire founde it."

Michaelmas, 30th Elizabeth :—

"At this Sessions restitution is granted by the Courte. And Mr. Hourde (Howard) a counsellor at law with the . . . [hiatus] . . . that Mrs. Long shall have free egress and regress to bear and carry away her goods betwixt this and mydsomer next viz Corne and Hey. And her household stuffe within one moneth after this Sessions. And it is desyred by the said Courte that Mr. Michaell Earnley and Mr. Edward Hungerford Esquires be present at

the delyvery of the possession and restitution to assist the Shreife and to see the queene's ma<sup>ties</sup> peace to be well observed and kept in all things for the quyeting of both parties."

Land at Potterne, and a barn at Corton, were on other occasions the subject of similar writs.

Epiphany, 42nd Elizabeth :—

"It is ordered by this Courte by the assent also of Mr. Lowe of Counsell with the said Henry Gawen that notwithstanding the writ of restitution now awarded for the delyverie of possession of the landes in question for the said Gawen That Joane Tucker widdowe shalbe at libertie to enter into the said landes and houlde the same as by former agreement she ought to have done And that as well touching the right of the said Joane Tucker and her well usage as alsoe touching the restoring of the said Henry Gawen and his servant to such goodes mony and apparell as have been taken from them by the saide Lucas and his confederates, the said Gawen shall stand to such good order as by Sr Willm Eyre Knight and John Earneley Esquire two of the next justices to that place shall think fitt and expedient in that behalfe."

#### XVII.—MATTERS IMPERIAL.

Ecclesiastical Questions. Beacons. The Star Chamber. Monopoly.  
Purveyance. Turkish Captivity.

Among matters of national concern the affairs of the Church shall have precedence.

Michaelmas, 20th Elizabeth :—Alice Gawen, of Alvedston, in contempt on a presentment that she went not to Church. Fined 5s.

A severer visitation awaited other recusants.

Trinity, 25th Elizabeth :—Bail given (the principal in £200 and the sureties in £100 each) for Richard Gable, of Whiteparish, for appearance at the next sessions, then to pay the sum of £80, which he had forfeited because he refused to go to Church, or then to deliver up his body to prison. A marginal note records the sequel, the accused appeared, and by order of the Justices of the assize, was committed to the Sheriff for safe keeping in gaol.

Michaelmas, 44th Elizabeth :—The Jurors of the hundred of Kinwardston, present three persons, Bridget Hungerford, John Beck, of Stock, and William Mullins, of Fosbury, as recusants.

Easter, 19th Elizabeth :—Roger Barmystre, of Hyndon, gave bail that he would not in his house sell nor eat flesh, nor suffer to be sold or eaten on any fasting in the day or time called Lent.

Thomas Westlond, of Fisherton Anger, innkeeper, entered into a similar undertaking.

Trinity, 44th Elizabeth :—Thomas Hayes, of Great Sherston, innholder, was indicted for cooking and selling veal in Lent.<sup>1</sup>

Michaelmas, 20th Elizabeth :—

“Orders. It is now agreed That the Justices of the peace within every of their divisions shall use their best endeavours to see the contents of the letter satisfied concerning papists at such times as they shall thinck most meete for the best service to be donne therein.

“It is further agreed that the said Justices of the peace within their severall divisions shall at such times as they shall thinck most fittest send for the Churchwardens of every parish and enquire of them whether there be any persons within their several parishes that doe without juste and lawfull cause refrain from comeinge to the Church. And also what persons doe resorte unto their parishes That either do refraine from comeinge to the Church or be either hyn-derers or contemnners of the religion sett forth by her May<sup>tie</sup>. And also whether they knowe any persons within their parishes to have any Masse Booke supraltares or any such thing belonging to the masse and so take understanding of their names and thereupon to send for the same persons by precept and so thereupon to take such further order for the making of searches thereupon as shall best satisfie the contents of the letters.

“It also ordered that every Justice of the Peace within every of their divisions shall make certificate of their several doings to the Shreif [of] the Countie before the Feast of Saint Andrew next whereby he may make certificate to her Ma<sup>ties</sup> counsell.”

Easter, 22nd Elizabeth :—

“Md that Henry Moulton hath in open Sessions before her Ma<sup>ties</sup> Justices there given information against Mr. Christopher Dawling parson of Upton Lovell saieing that he hath preached Seditious Doctryn in the church of Heytesbury he hath maintained purgatorie falsefyed the Scriptures of God preached heresies and hath as much as in him lyeth made the Scriptures of God of none effect by me Harry Moulton.”

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<sup>1</sup>This was an offence expressly forbidden by the 3rd Article “sette downe in the booke latlie sett forth by the Councill,” as was mentioned in the Michaelmas Sessions, 1600. The following Note appeared in “Notes and Queries,” for April, 1852, page 271,—“The meaning of Section 19, of the Statute of 5th Elizabeth, cap. 5, I apprehend to be this. The licence is only required for fish days, *i.e.*, the days on which the eating of flesh is prohibited. Then the effect of the section is that whilst *without* a licence, no flesh whatever is to be eaten on fish days, yet *even with* a licence the flesh to be eaten *fish days* must not at any time of the year be beef, and must not, between Michaelmas and May Day, be Veal.”

At the Easter Sessions, 25th Elizabeth, heavy bail was required on the occasion of the discovery of papistical books: the entries treating of this matter have been partially erased and obliterated. William Dibbins of Chareilton Musgrove, Somerset, is first named as the householder in whose dwelling the obnoxious volumes had been found. Other names are afterwards entered. Heavy bail was given by Dibbins (himself in £100 and two sureties in £50 each) for his future appearance; but whether this appearance was to be made at the next Sessions or at the next Assizes is left in doubt, in consequence of the erasures with which the page is disfigured.

Lent Assizes, 21st Elizabeth:—

“At this Assyses the graunde Jury Did exhibit to the Courte their assent and consents in form following and thereunto subscribed their names lykewise in forme following videlicet.

“May it please yor Lords that we are agreed and think very well of the rate of iij quarters of wheat praying of yo<sup>r</sup> Lordships that an equal Sessing in all parts of the Shere as well as of parsonages impropriatt as also of all grainges and fermes in the hands of the worshipfull of the shere.”

Easter, 30th Elizabeth:—

“Md That Thomas Baslyn doth say that his childe was well baptized by god-fathers and godmothers And was baptized at his dwelling house by Mr. Thomas Hickman a Minister being a maydchilde about twelve monethes past And in the psence of divers other faithfull person And that the said childe or any baptized myght be baptized w<sup>th</sup>out the Signe of the Crosse And of the said faithfull people one David Grove was one of the Company And further sayth that the parents are to name the childe and sayth that he offred Mr. Babyngton his childe to be baptized and he refused to baptize his childe And that Mr. Babbyngton his pastor woulde not baptize his childe according to Christe’s institution onlie and woulde not answer when he reseivyd the Communion of a long tyme And further sayeth that he lyveth onlie by the teaching of children and that his wiffe doth teach them in wryting and reading And further sayeth that his wiffe was not puryfiend according to the accustomed order but that puryfieng of women is a Jewish cerymonie and that confirmacon of children is a tradicon of man as he thinketh.”

The patriotic tending of the Beacons has been already noticed in this *Magazine*. Here are further illustrations.

Easter, 30th Elizabeth:—

“Ordo. It is ordered at this Sessions by all the Justices of Peace That if any doe refuse to watche the beacons or other whatches in any place Or that doe refuse to pay and be contributors for p<sup>r</sup>vision of armoure setting forth of Soldiers releife of the poor and impotent people and concerning the taxacon for the

gaole Then upon complainte made by any officer to any justice of peace of any of the p<sup>r</sup>misses it shalbe lawfull for the same Justice unto whome such complaint is made to send for the party offender by warrant and to commit him to prison there to remayne untill he become conformable to the p<sup>r</sup>misses and every of them."

#### Memorandum, about 1600 :—

"Forasmuch as it appearith by oath that the hundred and Towne of Warminster and the hundred of Heytesbury, (the Burrow Excepted) have used to watch the Beacons It is therefore ordered that the said place shall watch according to their accustomed manner."

Of the Star Chamber, a single trace only has been found in the Elizabethan minutes. At the Epiphany Sessions, 29th Elizabeth :— Lucy Long, wife of William Long, of Devizes, gentleman, John Trew, of Southbroom, gentleman, and Anthony Hort, of Devizes Green, yeoman, were bound over in £50 each, to appear in the Star Chamber, before the Queen in council, at Westminster, in the octave of Saint Hilary next, to answer upon those things which were laid against them, and there not to return without leave of the Court.

The same may be said of the grants of monopolies, dear to the heart of Elizabeth but strenuously resisted by her people. The Wiltshire Magistrates seem to have accommodated themselves to circumstances as they existed; but it is to be observed that the qualifying words "and by the lawe" are inserted on both the occasions on which the authority of the Council is quoted; the minute runs as follows :—

#### Epiphany, 42nd Elizabeth :—

"It is ordered by the Court upon the motion of Mr. Lawe being a Counsell for the said Francis Pope that an attachment shall forthwith be awarded out of this Countie against Richard Cranmer, Francis Browne, Susan Hetcher, William Noyes Clarke, Romsey, Trilcott, and Gough, to bring the said parties before some Justice of the peace within this Countie neare to the place of their abodes there to answer their contempts for making selling or uttering of Stearche Contrary to the true meaning of Her Maties lers patent granted to S<sup>r</sup> John Packington Knight bearing date the xx<sup>th</sup> day of Maye in the xl<sup>th</sup> yere of Her Ma<sup>ties</sup> raigne. And the said justice to inflict such punishment upon the offenders as by the Councill's lers bearing date the xxiii<sup>th</sup> day of November last past and shewn forth here in Court (as by the lawe is required.) And further by all possible means to ex<sup>a</sup>me the validitie of a lycence heretofore granted by the said Francis Pope to the said Richard Cranmer. And if the same shalbe founde voyde Then to inflict such punishm<sup>t</sup> as by the said lers patent and Councill's warrant and by the lawe is warranted and required."

Nor does Purveyance, familiar and long-standing cause of contention between sovereign and subject, seem to have roused in Wiltshire the resentment which it excited further west.

Epiphany, 20th Elizabeth :—

“Md that at this Generall Sessions of the peace I was comandyd to enroll this Agrem<sup>t</sup> hereafter following vidlt.

“Be it known to all men by these presents that we whose names are hereafter ptycularly expressed have requested and authoryssed And by these p'sents Do graunte and agree that the right Hon<sup>ble</sup> Henry Earle of Pembroke Sir John Thynne Knight Sir John Danvers Knight and Sir Henry Knevet Knight or thre of them shall or may deale confer and conclude with the officers of Her Majesty's most Hon<sup>ble</sup> Household for and in the behalf of all her Majesty's subjects within this County of Wilteshr for her Majesty's better service for such provision as hath byn heretofore usyd to be taken and provided within this County of Wilteshr for and towards the provision of Her Majesty's Household And whatsoever the said Earle of Pembroke Sir John Thynne Sir John Danvers and Sir Henry Knevet or thre of them shall do or agre upon for or concerning the premisses or eny pte thereof We the p'sones whose names are hereunto subscriybed shall and will at all times hereafter for and in the behalf of all her majesty's said subjects within this County of Wiltes ratify avow and allow to be of as full force and effect as if orselves hadd done the same In wytnes whereof we the said p'sones hereunder wryted have subscriybed o<sup>r</sup> names. Gevyn the x<sup>th</sup> day of January in the xx<sup>th</sup> yere of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God Quene of England Fraunce and Ireland Defender of the fayth &c

John Zouch

James Mervyn

Nicholas St<sup>r</sup> John

Walter Hungerford

George Penruddocke

Gyles Estcourt.”

At the Michaelmas Sessions, 1601, the Court heard that “Some controversies are lately growen and risen amonge the inhabitants of Xren Malford . . . for and concerninge the rates for provision of Her Ma<sup>ties</sup> household and other paiements and somes wherewith the said inhabitants are chargeable” but the discontent seems to have been with inequality of apportionment rather than with quantity of taxation, and the matter was referred by the justices (among whom is named with some circumstance “The Right Honourable Sir John Popham, Knight, Lord Chief Justice of England, and of Her Highnes most Honourable Privie Counseile,”) to Sir Edward Hungerford, Knight, and William Bayliffe, Esq.

But another and more distant sovereign made calls on the English ratepayer: the “unspeakable Turk” made himself felt even among the sequestered hamlets of Salisbury Plain.

Easter, 21st Elizabeth :—

“It is further ordered that in answer to the Counsell’s letters concerning the captives taken in Turkey\* that the Justices of Peace within every division shall deliver unto the constables of every hundred the copies of the letters to them in that behalf directed who shall thereupon charge the said Constables to move the Churchwardens Also to deal with the parsons or mynisters of every parishe to move them to further this charitable matter, and to require them to make the colleccons so farforthe as men shalbe disposed accordinglie And to answer the sommes of money collected to any justice of peace within every devision which justice of peace shall make delivery thereof to the Shrief betweene this and Michaelmas next.”

### XVIII—TRANSACTIONS OF A SINGLE SESSIONS.

The foregoing pages have afforded illustrations of the multifarious matters which needed for their due conduct some action by the court of Quarter Sessions : it may be useful to recount seriatim the transactions which occupied the attention of the court at some single sessions ; and the last which was held in Queen Elizabeth’s reign may very well serve as the example.

The court then assembled at Salisbury, on the Tuesday after the Feast of the Epiphany, 1603, and the four following days : the Justices present were Henry Bishop, of Salisbury, Sir James Mervyn and Sir Edward Ludlow, Knights, William Tooker, “*sacræ theologiæ doctor,*” Edward Penruddocke, Henry Sadler, Jasper Moore, Henry Smyth, Henry Willoughby, John Dauntsey, Alexander Tutt, John Ernley, Edward Estcourt, Henry Martin, James Ley, Edward Lambert, Walter Vaughan, Giles Tooker, and William Blacker, Esquires.

The matters dealt with by them occupy forty-two small folio pages, and are recorded as follows :—

Recognizances taken in court at the last sessions (*De Recogn ad ult in cur capt*). These were twelve in number. In one case the principal gives bail in 100 marks and his two sureties in £50 each. But the general measure of bail was £40 for the principal and £20

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\* The humorous reader will have already amused himself with some pleasantry about *Turkish Bonds* (Mr. Hamilton’s joke). In such matters the seafaring population of Devonshire had a keener interest than the land-locked Wiltshireman ; the Devonshire records contain entries far more detailed and interesting than the above.

each for two sureties, the condition in each case had been for appearance at this Epiphany Sessions and for good behaviour in the meantime, in two instances the persons are named towards whom the peace was to be kept.

Then follow the recognizances forty-eight in number, taken by Justices out of sessions. (*De Recogn p justic ad ist crificat.*) The £40 and £20 penalties here again find favour, though £20 and £10 have the preference. In one case the penalty is 100 shillings.

The names of the certifying justices are always recorded, and the result is noted above the entry. Here and there a default is noted, but the almost invariable appearance of the person bound, is strong proof of the efficacy of the recognizances for the purpose for which they were imposed.

The particular purpose of each recognizance and the action of the court thereon, is indicated in the briefest terms only. Appearance and discharge ("*Comp and Exo*") was the general happy result, and sometimes the reader is referred to the Sessions Rolls, ("*et ult<sup>s</sup> ut pt in bundello,*") for the further history of the case.

Yet a third group of recognizances remains to be mentioned, viz., those, seventy in number, which were entered into at this quarter sessions for appearance at the next.

But even so the weary tale of bail-giving and suretyship does not draw to a close until the next set of orders has been disposed of, this was the grant of seven licences for keeping common Taverns, in each of which cases bail for "good rule" was required as a condition of the application.

Next follows the real criminal business of the court, the delivery of the gaol and the indictments at this sessions.

Capital sentences were passed upon two persons convicted of highway robbery at Winterborne Gunner, but as to one of them, convicted on his own confession, there was respite after judgment.

Another trial for highway robbery at Milford, ended in an acquittal, and the only charge of burglary became reduced to one of larceny, for which the favourite sentence of whipping was passed. In three other instances a like offence met with a like punishment. In a fourth there was the happier issue of pardon and discharge, while in a



fifth the accused claimed benefit of clergy.<sup>1</sup> "*Po: se—cul:—ca: nul—pet: lib: trad: ord.—leg: et writ.*" is the matter-of-fact entry by which the clerk of the peace places on record that the accused *put himself* upon his country, that the jury found him *guilty*, that *no cause* was alleged in arrest of judgment, that the convict claimed the privilege of being *delivered to the ordinary*, that the recognized test for such a claim was applied to him, that he *read* as a clerk, and was dismissed with *branding*.

Then follow a variety of miscellaneous offences. A person charged with stealing wool is described as still at large, and his arrest is ordered by the next sessions, pending which operation an alleged accessory is to remain in gaol. Indictments are found for erecting a cottage at Maddington; for taking lodgers at that place, and at Codford; for assault and affray, (two cases), and for assault and rescue; for riot, for forcible entry, for extortion, (three separate charges); for keeping a tavern without a licence, (six cases from Downton, and one from Whiteparish); for non-compliance with the "Act for reliefe of y<sup>e</sup> poore," then recently passed; for the decay of Millbridge Downton, and for the obstruction of a highway at Wilton; and the calendar is brought to a conclusion by seventy-two charges against clothiers for defects whether of measure or of weight, in their "broad-listed" or "narrow-listed whites."

The Indictments are followed by the Presentments, and the clothiers who formed the rear of the last detachment, are now in the van. The presentments open with twenty-seven findings against the clothiers, for each of whom a pressing invitation to the next Quarter Sessions was issued in the shape of a writ of *venire facias*. The weavers, received their share of attention and such irregularities as keeping a loom, pursuing the craft of weaving not having been thereto apprenticed, keeping a journeyman or an apprentice, came duly under notice. The misdoings of the clothiers were no doubt brought before the court by the statutory supervisors. The weavers were presented by the grand jury upon information laid before them: the grand jury made presentments also against other

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix, part iii.

offenders, for encouraging gaming, for unlicensed taverns, for regrating butter and cheese, for obstructing one highway, and for failing to repair another: and they "found" Quidhampton Long-bridge to be dangerously narrow. Nor were the hundred juries behind-hand with presentments as to highways and taverns.

Next in order after the Presentments come the Appearances. The first of these is by attorney, a concession which is expressly stated to be by the favour of the court; next a technical quibble<sup>1</sup> suffices to quash an indictment. Then the inhabitants of Broad Chalke and of Porton (their attornies, too, being heard by special favour), obtained an adjournment of the presentments (whatever they were) against them till next court, and after these, eight other defendants appear, three of them by attorney. Robert Holmes seems to have been the favourite attorney, his name appears five times, that of Michael Titcombe once.

After the presentments come the Writs and Processes, (five in number and all for personal arrest), and after the writs, the Orders.

These orders deal with a variety of subjects, the practice and procedure of the court is regulated; affiliation orders are made; relief is administered under the Poor Law, in one instance overseers are bidden to provide a habitation for a houseless couple, "one this side

<sup>1</sup>The highly technical plea upon which the accused escaped is not without interest, and may as well be recounted in full; the minute runs as follows.

Epiphany, 1603:—

"William Chapman of Leigh within the parish of Westbury in the County aforesaid in his own proper person appears to an indictment against him, at the suit of our Lady the Queen prosecuted at the General Sessions of the Peace of the County aforesaid held at Marlborough on Thursday next after the Feast of Saint Michael the Archangel last past And prays a hearing of that indictment And the same is read to him Which having been read and heard He says that he contends that our said Lady the Queen neither would nor ought further to impeach or wrongfully charge (impetere seu occasionare) the same William forasmuch as he says that the indictment aforesaid is insufficient in law for compelling the same William to his answer by the law of the land and that no process ought by the law of the land to be taken against him upon that indictment By reason that is to say that in the said indictment it is alleged that the said William on the first day of January in the year &c the forty-fourth and on many other days together after the said first day of January "per spatium nonnarum mensium extunc proxime sequentium" that is to say &c the said art &c used and exercised Which word "nonnarum" indeed is bad Latin and has no certain meaning but ought to be "novem" And for the insufficiency of the same he prays judgment And that he concerning the premises may be hence discharged by the Court &c Upon which things seen and by the Court were understood of all and singular the premisses forasmuch it seems to the Court here that the indictment aforesaid is insufficient in law as the aforesaid William in his discharge concerning the premisses last aforesaid in his pleadings has alleged It is considered by the Court that the aforesaid William go hence without day &c."

Easter next;" disputes are referred to justices out of sessions; the appointment of a tythingman, and the swearing-in of a hundred constable are commanded. Pensions are granted to maimed soldiers, and provisional arrangement is made for the repair of a bridge disclaimed by everybody.

After the orders, are to be found the elections of the constables of the Hundreds of Alderbury, Amesbury, Branch and Dole, Damerham South, and Underditch.

The work of the sessions closes with a humane order for enquiry into an apparently genuine grievance laid before the court by the tenants of the Manor of Stert, who as set forth at page 90, were threatened with expulsion from their homes in a somewhat summary fashion.

#### XIX.—REFERENCES TO JUSTICES OUT OF SESSIONS.

But the favourite method of dealing with controverted non-criminal matters was to refer them for decision to two or more of the local justices living within reach of the disputants. How nice or how rough was the justice which these neighbouring arbitrators administered there is nothing to show for certain. From the consistent adoption however, year after year of this same mode of adjusting differences there is every reason to suppose that in the main it gave satisfaction alike to the suitors and to the court. The action of the referees does not seem to have been limited within hard and fast limits. The court with a seeming disposition to be quit of the affair if possible, is repeatedly urging them "to end the cause if they can."

A few cases may be cited.

Epiphany, 19th Elizabeth :—

"Md that by commandment of Sir James Mervyn Knight I am to signyfe hereafter that Christpr Frowde hathe chosen him the sayd Sir James to be his Arbitrator between Frowde aforesaid and John Batten And that further each of the said Batten and Frowde shall be bound to stand to the Award of the sayd Sir James and of such other as the sayd Batten shall name And that if the Award be not fyneshed by the ed̄ of the gen'all Sessions of the peace to be holden next at Warm' (then they to be at large) and that Batten have one other sufficient suretye to be bounde with him for performance of the Award on his part."

## Assizes, New Sarum, 26th February, 20th Elizabeth :—

“Md to stay process against Arthur Redfern and others now at this Assizes indighted because they have putt their cause in \* compromise to Mr. Stephens and Mr. Edward Waldron.

## Michaelmas Sessions, 20th Elizabeth :—

“ Order is taken that Parette shall comytt the matter between Strugnall and him in \* compromise and shall not trouble the Court in the meane time—by the suretye of Mr. Mychell of Sarum.”

But any such composition needed the approval of the court. Mark Farland of Salisbury, was indicted for compounding with one Henry Hillard upon a penal statute before answer made.

## Epiphany, 44th Elizabeth :—

“ Yt is ordered by this Courte that Edward Estcourte and Giles Tooker Esq<sup>r</sup> . . . shall come before them or either of them William Trendall and John Trendall and examine the matter of Johan Hayter Spinster against the saide William Trendall and they or either of them shall consider whether the saide William Trendall hath receyved the saide Johan Hayter's stocke into his hands or not or whether he did agree and promise to finde the saide Johan Hayter duringe her life in considercon of the said stocke or not And whether the same stocke be still detayned and the saide Johan Hayter put from the saide William Trendall or not and to end that cause yf they can or otherwise . . . to binde the saide William Trendall and John Trendall to appear at the next sessions . . . that the Court maye ende the same matter according to right and equitie.”

## Epiphany, 44th Elizabeth :—

“ Yt is ordered . . . that the matter conteyned in the peticon of the Inhabitants of the Tithinge of Awston in the hundred of Broad Chalke . . . remayinge in the file of this Sessions be referred to the hearinge and examination of Sir James Mervyn Knight Henry Willoughby and Walter Vaughan Esq<sup>r</sup> Justices . . . and they to report their opinion therein before the Feast of Easter next unto the Right Reverend Father in God Henry Bishop of Sarum and he to certifie the same together with his owne opinion of the matter . . . unto the next Generale Sessions.”

## Epiphany, 44th Elizabeth :—

“ All manner rates taxes and charges taxable upon the inhabitants of the hundred of Underditch referred to the hearing and consideracon of the L. Bishop of Sarum . . . and six others.”

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\* The word compromise here retains its primary meaning of an agreement for reference to arbitration, not an arrangement brought about by mutual concessions.

## XX.—CRIMINAL JURISDICTION.

The principles which limited the jurisdiction of the Court of Quarter Sessions in the trial of criminals exhibit no analogy to the distinctions recognized at the present day. The penalty of death is again and again imposed (to the number of seven capital sentences, one on a woman, at a single sessions), and "peine forte et dure" is adjudged. An unusually long entry is devoted to the case of an outlaw who was charged with stealing a gelding: he pleaded a previous acquittal on this selfsame accusation, but failed to support his plea with any sufficient evidence, wherefore it is commanded to the Sheriff "*quod suspendatur.*" Highway robbery was generally visited with hanging and in one instance of murder the sentence is that the convict be hanged in chains near the place of the crime. In some cases execution was respited by warrant of the Lord Chief Justice. Burglary is dealt with, and the graver as well as the lighter degrees of larceny. Whipping is unsparingly dealt out, and the pillory had its victims for minor offences. These sentences to the pillory are stated with a pitiless particularity. For three charges of cosenage an offender from Holt is thus treated:—

"Wherefore he has judgment of the pillory with both his ears fastened to the same until he thence have torn them (*dilaceravit*). And afterwards to be committed to gaol there to remain for three months without bail for each offence."

For the fabrication, writing and completion (*confectio*, not the *publication*, of which another prisoner was found guilty), of scandalous libels, a native of Devizes was fined £10:—

"And to stand on the pillory in the Borough of Devizes on the next market day there to be held, for the space of one hour at the time of market there, with his right hand in the pillory aforesaid with a paper set over his head on which paper shall be written in English these words following that is to say (*for contriving of slanderous libels,*) and to be imprisoned until the fine aforesaid be paid and afterwards until he find sureties for his appearance at the next Sessions and for his good behaviour in the meantime."

Robert Jeffrey of Wootten Bassett, had to pose in the same attitude for two hours, in Marlborough, with a fine of 20s. His misconduct took the by no means uncommon form of assault and affray, but he was injudicious in his selection of time and place.

And if a man will cudgel his neighbour during the hours of the sessions and in the eye of the court, he cannot complain that the assembly should vindicate its dignity by an exemplary sentence. Jeffrey's ears were left unmolested, and he seems to have been spared the additional ignominy of an explanatory placard.

Nor were verbal affronts tamely accepted by the court. A writ of good behaviour issued at Michaelmas, 1598, against John Ball, of Burbage, "for sayeng the justices used noe indifferent dealing towards one Thompson and Hunt," and at the Michaelmas Sessions, held at Marlborough, on the 30th September, 1600:—

"Mathewe Meryet came into the Courte and there openly did depose that he never heard Mr. Richard Burleigh say that bandes of the peace sholde not serve Mr. Ambrose Button's turne but that he would be revenged on him nor anie wordes to the like purpose or effect as Thomas Myles upon his oath before the L Cheife Justice in this Courte did depose But further sayeth that Mr. Ambrose Button did aske this deponent whether Mr. Burleigh had spoken anie such wordes wch he this deponent utterlie denied."

The pillory would have been a fitting punishment enough for extortion; but so far as the minutes under consideration relate to that offence it escaped any such severe retribution. Conclusive proof of it was perhaps not easily obtained. In one case the only note is the usual bail to appear on a future day, in another the accused protested his innocence, yet threw himself on the mercy of the court and paid a fine of 20*s.*; in a third, the indictment was quashed for some informality which does not appear.

Of witchcraft one curt entry alone appears, viz., for bewitching a cow, (*pro incantatione vaccæ*) the ultimate fate of the accused is not disclosed.

Another judgment of the court seems to relate to some encroachment on the highway.

Easter, 20th Elizabeth:—

"It is ordered at this Court that Willm Peter gent shall pull up the hedg wch he hath made as it is specified in an indightment remaying of Record betwixt this and the first day of the next terme."

In the following case nothing further is to be obtained beyond the statement of the charge.

Epiphany, 42nd Elizabeth :—Robert Stevens of Highworth, bound over to appear at next sessions “for marrying a yonge boye to his daughter :” save that the clerk of the peace notes in the margin that he is “to remember the courte of his abuse in arresting Wilkins in Sarum, at the last Sessions.”

### XXI.—PRACTICE AND PROCEDURE.

Not the least interesting (though among the worst written) passages on the pages of the minute books, are those which have to do with the practice and procedure of the court.

The following relate to the functions of and regulations for the grand and petty jury.

Michaelmas, 18th Elizabeth :—

“Md that by the order of Court at this general Sessions all these hereafter menced being retornid by the Sherief in the Grande jury shall be amerced at xx<sup>s</sup> a pece.” Four names follow.

Easter, 18th Elizabeth :—

\* “It is orderyd at this Court that if eny person or persons shall at eny time hereafter prefer eny Bill of Indictment to the Court unles they be bills of felony that the ptie that prosecuteth or pties that shall prosecute or prefer the same Bills or Bill shall gyve his or their name or names to the Clerk of the Peace of this Shire before the Graunde Jury be charged at eny genall Sessions of the Peace hereafter to be holden within this County or else his or their bill shall not be resievdyd unles some good matter shall appear to the Courte to the contrary.”

Trinity, 19th Elizabeth :—Process ordered against Matthew Webb of Kings Wall, “by the credible reporte of Mr. Spearer forman of the Graunde Jury.”

Epiphany, 22nd Elizabeth :—

“That the travers for Stanten shall procede at Warmyster And if the jury doe not appear then Mr. Hill hath promised to crave a *decem tales* for the Quene *de circumstantibus*.”

Easter, 22nd Elizabeth :—

“It is orderyd at this Courte that if eny bill be p'feryd against eny p'son for a coe (common) barrator that the said byll shall not be resevid unles there be open evidence in Courte gyven to the said bill.”

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\* Already noticed by Mr. Ravenhill at vol. xviii., p. 155.

## Easter, 44th Elizabeth :—

“ Fine of Robert Sutton of Devizes one of the jurors to enquire for our Lady the Queen within the Borough aforesaid for that he disclosed the finding of himself and the rest of the jurors of the Borough aforesaid out of Court and before they delivered their verdict to the Court of our Lady the Queen here.”

The fine, one of five shillings only, was forthwith paid.

Perhaps William Morrys, in the subjoined, may have been summoned on the jury.

## Michaelmas, 17th Elizabeth :—

“ The cause is for that the said parties did arrest William Morrys in the Towne of Marlborough surmising an action of debt against him for that he presented the peace against the said Anthony Farmer there being the present time of the Sessions and coming thither in the Queen’s service.”

The relations of the court with the Sheriff receive illustration in the following.

## Michaelmas, 19th Elizabeth :—

“ Md gave the Shrefe a p̄cept for sum<sup>s</sup> of the Sess<sup>n</sup> at Sar<sup>m</sup> next with one *venir* for Chevers and xiiij psses.”

## Trinity, 21st Elizabeth :—

“ Md dl<sup>a</sup> to Thomas Morrice baliffe arr’ [*ballivus errans*] to Mr. Shreife the xxv<sup>th</sup> of July A<sup>o</sup> sup<sup>r</sup>dcto xx<sup>ti</sup> writs w<sup>th</sup> the p̄cept of sumoning the Sess<sup>n</sup>—a *venire* upon a travers—and one exigent for felony against John Curteis als Sewen and others &c.”

“ Md dd to Anthony Baker bayliffe arr’ to Mr. Shreife the iiiij<sup>th</sup> of Septemb<sup>r</sup> A<sup>o</sup> supr<sup>d</sup> ij<sup>o</sup> *venir* for travers—one for Mr. Chadd<sup>n</sup>ton and others and one for Haynes—one cap’ for felony against Cowp<sup>r</sup> and others and ij<sup>o</sup> other wrytes.”

## Epiphany, 22nd Elizabeth :—

“ Delivered to the Shriefts man Stevens the xxj<sup>th</sup> of February Anno Supradicto vj writs besides the p̄cept.”

“ Md I delyv<sup>r</sup>ed a note upon my Kalender to the gaoler that William Clifford of Overton sholde not be discharged out of the gaole before he had given securitie for the good behavior and to appeare at the next Sessions.”

Then the clerk of the peace exhibits an intelligible solicitude on the subject of his fees. At the Epiphany Sessions, 18th Elizabeth, he writes :—

“ Md that thes Farmers have paid but iij<sup>s</sup> towards their hole fees.”



## Epiphany, 20th Elizabeth :—

“Md delivered to William Staples servant the second of February 1577 one Record of the Assizes holden at Sarum in Anno 15<sup>o</sup> Elizabethæ Reginæ and the Record of the Assizes in Anno 16<sup>o</sup> Elizabethæ Reginæ; and also copy of one indictment wherein one Thomas Holdway is indicted, with a certiorari to certify the same *the fees whereof are unpaid.*”

## Trinity, 20th Elizabeth :—

“Md that Robt Gawen dothe ow me for my fees *iiij s vjd.*”

## Epiphany, 21st Elizabeth :—

“Md the fees for the recognizance is unpaid : *comit ad gaol.*”

But encouraging incidents relieved these gloomy experiences : on the same page with the last entry stands another to the effect that “John Townsend is releasyd of the peace and *paid his fees.*”

It must have been the clerk of the peace's clerk who penned the following :—

“Md that I putt my Mr. in remembrance at the next Assiss that process be made against all such as weere presented at Hyndon for selling ale without licence.”

And the next, in which his zeal for his employer's purse grew impatient of court Latinity, and betook itself to the vernacular.

## Trinity, 21st Elizabeth :—

“Finis Petri Powlden Will<sup>m</sup> Smyth et Joh<sup>s</sup> Busslopp taxatur per curiam *comit ad gaol.*—the same was paid by my Mr. for ye Justices diet and the said parties promised to pay it againe at my Mr<sup>s</sup>. coming whome.”

Among the miscellaneous offences not before specified, were charges for killing pigeons with a net; for permitting escapes from prison, (Fisherton) or from custody; for buying corn in the field: for sleeping by day and watching at night, &c., &c. On some accusations, possibly political, of which the particulars are lost with the great rolls, very heavy bail was on one occasion demanded, being no less than £400 from the principle and £200 from each of two sureties. At the same sessions viz., Epiphany, 29th Elizabeth :—

“The Mayor and the Constable of the Burgesses of Marlborough at the mercy of the Court in the sum of £20 by the judgment of the Court because they have

not made a sufficient return to and execution of our Lady the Queen's Writ as appears by the record."

## XXII.—MINOR TRANSACTIONS.—NOTES OF ASSIZES.

But if, on the one hand, the Court of Quarter Sessions exercised a practically unlimited criminal jurisdiction and also performed a variety of other important functions not immediately connected with crime, yet on the other, the court discharged numerous minor duties which at the present day are undertaken either at the Court of Summary Jurisdiction, or by a justice sitting alone. In the reign of Queen Elizabeth as in the early years of the reign of Queen Victoria, every petty theft had to be submitted to a jury. It was also in full court that accused persons were committed to the next sessions or assizes as the case might be, and prosecutors and witnesses were bound over to appear and give evidence. The county boundary does not seem to have been an inviolable barrier, for on more than one occasion the court binds over a witness to the assizes at Winchester.

The notices of the Assizes appearing in the Elizabethan minutes do not present any features of interest, with the single exception of the minute, entered at p. 96, *supra*. In the rest, the entries concerning them are of no interest whatever: the following is a list of the Assizes noticed in the minutes:—

Date.	Before whom held.
22nd March, 1575,	No names.
30th August, 1576,	No names.
3rd March, 1576,	No names.
26th February, 1577,	Chief Baron Jeffreys, and Serjeant Anderson.
12th March, 1578,	Chief Baron Manwood, and Serjeant Anderson.
24th August, 1579,	Chief Baron Manwood, and Serjeant Anderson.
30th June, 1580,	Chief Baron Manwood, and Serjeant Anderson.
20th August, 1584,	Chief Baron Manwood, Mr. Justice Perryam.
19th August, 1585,	No names.

Of these all were held at Salisbury, save that of the 24th August, 1579, which was held at Amesbury.

## APPENDIX.

## I.

Names of Justices acting at the Quarter Sessions, as entered on the minute books.

Henry Earl of Pembroke, Edward Earl of Hertford, Henry, (Cotton) Bishop of Salisbury, [John, (Piers) Bishop of Salisbury, is named as having acted as a Justice out of sessions,] John Lord Stourton, George Lord Audley, Sir John Popham Chief Justice of The Common Pleas, William Tooker, S.T.D.

## KNIGHTS.

Sir Matthew Arrundell, Sir Anthony Ashley, Sir Edward Baynton, Sir Henry Baynton, Sir John Danvers, Sir William Eyre, Sir Edward Hungerford, Sir John Hungerford Sir Walter Hungerford, Sir Henry Knyvett, Sir Walter Long, Sir Edmund Ludlow, Sir James Mervyn, Sir John Mervyn, Sir George Penruddock, Sir Francis Popham, Sir Henry Sherrington, Sir John Thynne, Sir Giles Wroughton, Sir Thomas Wroughton, Sir John Zouch.

## ESQUIRES.

William Baylif, Edward Baynard, Henry Baynton, William Blacker, William Brouncker, William Button, Henry Clifford, William Daniell, John Dautesey, John Davis, Christopher Dodington, John Earnley, Edward Estcourt, Giles Estcourt, John Eyre, William Eyre, William Grove, Bartholomew Horsey, Edward Hungerford, Walter Hungerford, William Hussey, William Jordan, Edmund Lambert, James Ley, Walter Long, Edward Ludlow, Henry Martyn, Anthony Myldmay, Thomas Mompesson, Jasper Moore, Edward Penruddock, John Penruddock, Robert Penruddock, Henry Poole, Carey Rawley, Edward Read, William Reade, —— Rowles, Henry Sadler, Nicholas St. John, Henry Sherrington, Henry Smith, John Snell, Thomas Snell, Giles Thistlewaite, John Thynne, Giles Tooker, Alexander Tutt, Walter Vaughan, Thomas Walton, John Warneford, Henry Willoughby, John Willoughby, Thomas Wroughton, Francis Zouch.

## II.

## PLACE-NAMES.

This list does not pretend to be exhaustive: it may have some interest as affording illustrations of sixteenth century pronunciation.

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| Abury, Avebury.  | Baverstocke.  |
| Alborne, Alborne Chase.  | Baydon.   |
| Alderberie, Aldebury, Alderbury<br>and Grynstide.  | Bedson, Biddestone, Bydson.   |
| Alderton, Aldrington.  | Bechingstoke, Beechingstoke.  |
| Allington.   | Bedwin, Bedwyn, Bedwin<br>Magna.  |
| Alton.   | Bemerton, Bymerton.   |
| Alston, Alvedston, Awston.   | Benfield.   |
| Ambesbury, Ambrosbury, Am-<br>brosebury, Amesbury, Amsbury,<br>Amsbury Erldone and Priorye,<br>Amysbery, Amysbury. | Bishopeston, Bishopston.  |
| Ashlington.  | Bushopstrowe, Byshopestrow.   |
| Ashton Gifford.  | Blackland, Blacklond.   |
| Asheton Keynes, Ashton Keynes,<br>Ashton Kaynes.   | Blonsdon, Blunsdon.   |
| Asserton.  | Boram, Boram alias Burton.  |
| Axford.  | Bowdon.   |
| Backhampton.   | Box, Boxe.  |
| Badbery, Badbury.  | Bradford.   |
| Barford, Barford Sti Martin, Bar-<br>ford St. Martyn.  | Bratton.  |
| Barlie Grafton, Barly Grafton.   | Bradley, Bradley.   |
| Barwick Basset.  | Bramshawe.  |
| Barwick Sti Jacobi, Barwycke S.<br>James.  | Bremble.  |
| Barwick St. John, Barwick Sti<br>Johis.  | Brinkworthe, Brinckworth.   |
| Barwick Sti Leonardi.  | Broad Chalke, Broad Chalk,<br>BrodeChalke, BroadChaulk,<br>Broad Chaulke. |
| Bathampton, Batington, also<br>Great Bathampton.   | Broad Somerford, Broade<br>Somerford, also Great<br>Somerford.            |
|  | Brockenborough, Broken-<br>borough, Broukenborow.                         |
|  | Brodhenton.   |
|  | Bromham, Bromeham.  |

- Brooke (Westbury).  
 Broughton. [kynton.  
 Buckingham, Bulkington, Bul-  
 Bugley.  
 Burchenwood.  
 Burbadge, Burbage, Burbidge.  
 Burcombe.  
 Burdropp.  
 Burtford [Britford].  
 Burton hill (Tithing).  
 Bushton.  
 Bynall, Byncknoll, Byncknowle,  
 Bynoll.  
 Cadley (Potterne).  
 Cadnam.  
 Calcott.  
 Calne.  
 Canings, Cannings, Canyngs,  
 Cannings Epi., also Byshops  
 Cannings.  
 Castell Combe, Castell Combe,  
 Castel Comb.  
 Castel Eaton, Caslte Eton.  
 Calston, Cawlston, Cawston.  
 Chadderton, Chadenton, Chad-  
 dington.  
 Chaulke.  
 Chappemanslade. Chapmanslade,  
 Chapnhamslade, Chepmanlade,  
 Cheppymslade.  
 Charlton, Charlton Musgrove.  
 Charnam Street, Charnham Streat.  
 Chawfield West.  
 Chelworth, (Cricklade).  
 Cheppenham, Chippenham.  
 Chesbury, Chysbury.  
 Chesenbury.  
 Chicklat, Chicklad.  
 Chilmark, Chilmarke.  
 Chilton, Chilton Folliat,  
 Chilton Follyat.  
 Chirrell, Chirvel.  
 Chirton. [ton.  
 Chiselden, Chyselden, Chyse-  
 Chiltern.  
 Chittow.  
 Christen Malverd, Curst  
 Mavord, Xren Malford.  
 Clack.  
 Claringdon.  
 Clatford.  
 Cleve-peper, Clive-piper.  
 Clinche.  
 Coate (Bishops Cannings).  
 Cockelborowe.  
 Codford, Codford Mary.  
 Colebarwick.  
 Collarn, Collarne, Collern,  
 Cullern, Cullerne.  
 Collingborne, Collingborne  
 Ducis.  
 Collingborne Kingston, Col-  
 lingborne Regis.  
 Collingborne Sutton, Colling-  
 borne Vallance.  
 Combe.  
 Comerford [Quemerford].  
 Compton, Compton Basset.  
 Compton Chamberlaine,  
 Compton Chamberlayn,  
 Compton Chamberlayne,  
 Compton Chamberlen.

- Conk.  
 Corsham, Cosham, Cossam.  
 Corsley, Corsly, Corslye.  
 Corston.  
 Corton.  
 Cotemarshe.  
 Coulston.  
 Cricklad, Oriclade, Crycklad.  
 Croften, Crofton (Gt. Bedwin).  
 Crockerton, Crokerdon.  
 Crudwell.  
 Damerham, Damerham South.  
 Dautesey, Dauntsey.  
 Detford.  
 Deverell Langbridge, Deverell  
     Longbridge.  
 Devizes, Devizez.  
 Dinton, Dynton.  
 Dornford, Durnford.  
 Downe Pewsey.  
 Downton.  
 Draycott, Dreycot, Dreycott, Dray-  
     cott Follyat, Dreycott Follyat.  
 Dunhead, Dunhed, Dunhedd, Dun-  
     hed Mary.  
 Durlington, Durrington.  
 Dychampton.  
 Earlestone, Erlestook.  
 Easterton.  
 East Grafton.  
 East Grimsted, Est Grimsted,  
     East Grymsted.  
 East Harnam, Eastharnham.  
 East Knoyle.  
 East Kynnet.  
 East Lavington.  
 Eastmanstreat (Tithing).  
 Easton.  
 Eastropp.  
 Eaton Keynes.  
 Ebesborne, Ebesborne Wake,  
     Eblesborne Wake.  
 Eddington, Edington.  
 Enford.  
 Escott.  
 Everleigh.  
 Evesbury (? same as Avebury).  
 Fackham.  
 Farleigh Hill, Farley.  
 Fernham.  
 Fidleton, Fitleton, Fittleton,  
     Fiddleton et Hackston,  
     Fyttleton.  
 Fifeilde (Enford), Fifelde, Fif-  
     helde, Fyfeeld, Fyfeild,  
     Fyfeilde, Fyfeld, Fyfelde,  
     Fyffhed.  
 Fishsherton Anger, Fysherton  
     Anger.  
 Fonthill Gifford, Foontell  
     Gifford, Fonntell Gifford,  
     Fountell Gyford, Founthill  
     Gifford.  
 Forde.  
 Fovent.  
 Foxley, Foxly.  
 Froxfeild.  
 Fyeldean, Fyheldeane.  
 Fysherton Delamer, Fysserton  
     Dalamer.  
 Garsdon, Garston.  
 Garsters (parish).

- Goatacre, Goataicker, Goateaker.  
 Gombledon, Gumbleton, Gomel-  
 don,  
 Gomerwell.  
 Grafton.  
 Grettenham, Gretnam.  
 Gretleton.  
 Grondwell  
 Grove. [Grymsted.  
 Grimsted, Grimstede, Grumsted,  
 Ham.  
 Hankerton.  
 Hanging Langford.  
 Hanging Stoke.  
 Hankeridge (Westbury).  
 Hatch, alias Hipringstubb.  
 Harnishe.  
 Haydowne Weeke.  
 Hayle, Heale, Heele.  
 Haytesbury, Haytisbury.  
 Heddington, Hedington.  
 Helmarton, Hilmarton.  
 Helthropp.  
 Henton, Henton (in Steeple Ash-  
 ton), Hunton.  
 Highway, Highway.  
 Highworth.  
 Hill Deverell.  
 Hillperton, Hillprington, Hilper-  
 ton, Hilprington.  
 Hindon.  
 Hodson.  
 Hol, Holte, Houlte.  
 Homington.  
 Horningshame, Horningsham,  
 Hornisham, Hornisom.  
 Horton.  
 Huishe.  
 Hullavington.  
 Hungerford.  
 Hungerford Farley, Hunger-  
 fordes Farleighe.  
 Hurcot, Hurcott, Hurcutt.  
 Hyndon.  
 Idmeston.  
 Imber.  
 Inglesham.  
 Itchelhampton.  
 Jacobi Ugford, St. James  
 Ugford.  
 Kemble, Kembell.  
 Kevell, Kevill.  
 Kinge Rood, Kingeswood.  
 Kingeston Deverell, Kingston  
 Deverell.  
 Kingswall.  
 Kinwarston, Kyndwarston.  
 Knoke, Knooke.  
 Knowle.  
 Knoyle.  
 Kynton, Kynton Sti Michis.  
 Lackham.  
 Lacock, Lacoocke.  
 Lanford.  
 Langley Burrell, Langlie Bur-  
 rell, Langly Burrell.  
 Laverstock.  
 Lavington, alias Easterton.  
 Lavington Episcopi, Lavyng-  
 ton, Lavington Markett.  
 Le, The.  
 Lea.

- Liddeard Millisent, Lidiard Millicent, Lyddeard Millisent, Lyddiard Myllysent.  
 Lockeridge.  
 Lovell's Upton, Upton Lovell.  
 Luckington.  
 Ludgarshall, Lurgesall.  
 Lyddeard Tregose, Lyddiard Tregoze.  
 Lyddington, Ludington.  
 Lyghe Dallamer.  
 Lymply Stoke.  
 Lyneham.  
 Lyntham.  
 Lyttle Hynton.  
 Madington.  
 Madyn Bradley, Mayden Bradley, Maydyn Bradley, Mayden Bradley, Mayden Bradly, Mayden Broadly.  
 Mahington, Manton.  
 Malmesbury.  
 Manningford.  
 Manningford Brues.  
 Marleborough, Marlebrough.  
 Marshton, Maston.  
 Marten, Martin, Martyn.  
 Meare, Meer, Meere.  
 Medborne.  
 Melborne, Mylborne.  
 Melksham, Millsham, Melksham, Mylksham, Mylshym.  
 Mildeston.  
 Milton.  
 Morden.  
 Mouncton.  
 Mouncton Deverell.  
 Mouncton Farleigh, Mouncton Farleighe.  
 Mounckfield.  
 Myddelton, Myddleton.  
 Mylenoll.  
 Mylford.  
 Nestetowne.  
 Netherhampton.  
 Netherhaven. [ton.  
 Netleton, Nettleton, Nettyl-Newton, Newtowne, Nuton.  
 Norrington.  
 North Bradely, North Bradley, North Bradlie, North Bradly.  
 Northburcombe.  
 North Tidworth.  
 North Wraxall, North Wraxsall.  
 Norton.  
 Norton Bavant, Norton Bavent.  
 Nova Sarum.  
 Ockborn.  
 Ogborne Sti Georgii.  
 Orcheston Mary, Orston Mary.  
 Overfonthill.  
 Overton.  
 Oxeshey, Oxhey, Wokesey.  
 Pewsey, Pewsie, Pewsy, Pwesy.  
 Pirton, Priton, Purton, Pyrton.  
 Polshed.



- Poole (Wilts).  
 Porton.  
 Pottern, Potterne, Potren, Pottren.  
 Pottren Weeke.  
 Preshute, Presute, Presult.  
 Priors Cleve.  
 Puckshipton.  
 Puttall (Bedwyn).  
 Pytton.  
 Quidhampton, Quyddamton.  
 Ramesbury, Remesbury, Rems-  
 bury.  
 Rodborne, Rodborne Cheyny.  
 Rokeley, Rookley, Rowley, Rowly.  
 Rowd, Rowde.  
 Rudg.  
 Russall.  
 St. Margaret Stratton.  
 Saltrōp.  
 Savernack, Savernecke.  
 Sedhell, Sedghill.  
 Seen, Seend, Send.  
 Semington.  
 Semleigh, Semley, Semly.  
 Sevenhampton.  
 Sevington.  
 Shepridg parva, Shipridge parva.  
 Sherrington.  
 Sherston.  
 Sherston Pinckney.  
 Shrewton.  
 Slaughterford, Slawterford, Sletter-  
 ford.  
 Smalebroke, Smallebroke.  
 Smythcott.  
 Sodbury.  
 Somerford.  
 Somerford Keynes.  
 Somerford Mauditts.  
 Southbroome.  
 Southeburcombe, Southbur-  
 combe.  
 South Newton. [weeke.  
 Southweeke, Southwick, Suth-  
 South Wraxall.  
 Stanhm ? Stanham, or Stan-  
 more.  
 Stanton Fitz Harb, Stanton  
 Fytes Harberd.  
 Stanton Fre Warren.  
 Stapleford.  
 Staunton.  
 Steart, Stearte, Steete, Steert,  
 Sterete, Stert, Sterte.  
 Steeple Ashton Steple Ash-  
 ton, Stiple Ashton.  
 Stiple Langford.  
 Stock Fountell.  
 Stockley, Stockly, Stocklye.  
 Stockton.  
 Stoke Earles.  
 Stourton.  
 Stowell.  
 Stowford.  
 Stratford.  
 Studley.  
 Sute (Longbridge Deverell).  
 Sutton Benger.  
 Swacliffe.  
 Swallofeeld, Swallofeild, Swal-  
 lowfeild, Swallowfeeld,  
 Swallowfelde.

- Swanborow.  
 Swarms Wick.  
 Swindon, Swinndon, Swynden,  
     Swyndon.  
 Teffont, Teffonte, Teffount, Tefont,  
     Tefonte.  
 Tidworth, Tidworth South, Tid-  
     worth Southe, Tydworth.  
 Tilshed.  
 Tisbury, Tysbury.  
 Tokenham.  
 Tottenham Weeke.  
 Trobridge, Trowbridge.  
 Trole, Trolle, Trowle.  
 Tynhed, Tynhedd.  
 Tytcombe Martyn.  
 Tytherton Keyleweyes.  
 Uphaven.  
 Uppwyck.  
 Upton Skidmore, Upton Skydmore.  
 Urchefont, Urchfonte, Urchfount,  
 Veni Sutton, Venny Sutton, Veny  
     Sutton, also Sutton Magna.  
 Wanborough, Wanborow.  
 Warfield.  
 Warmister, Warmyster.  
 Wadhampton, Wodhampton (Ur-  
     chfont).  
 Weke, Weke juxta Newcourt.  
 West Ashton.  
 Wesburie, Westbury, Westburye.  
 Westbury Leighe, Westbury  
     Lighe, Westbury Lyghe, West-  
     bury Lye.  
 Westbury subter le Playne.  
 Westchawfield.  
 Westcott.  
 West Dean.  
 West Grafton.  
 West Grymsted.  
 Westharnam.  
 Westhatch.  
 West Kington, West Kyne-  
     ton.  
 West Lavington.  
 Westporte.  
 Westropp.  
 West Tockenham.  
 Westwood.  
 Whaddon.  
 Whitley.  
 Whitparishe, Whytparishe.  
 Whorwelsdowne.  
 Widdle.  
 Wilsford.  
 Wilton, Wylton.  
 Winsley, Wynsley, Wynsy.  
 Winterborne, Wynterborne.  
 Winterborne Daunsey, Win-  
     terborne Dautesey.  
 Winterborne Earles.  
 Winterborne Gonner.  
 Winterborne Stoke.  
 Winterslow, Winterslowe.  
 Wishford.  
 Wolly.  
 Woodborough, Woodborow,  
     Woodborrow.  
 Woodford.  
 Woodlands.  
 Woore (Oare).  
 Woorton, Worton, Wourton.

Wooten Bassett, Wootten Bassett,	Wyck, Wycke.
Woten Bassett, Wotten Bassett,	Wynfield, Wyngfield
Wotton Bassett.	Yatesbury, Yatisbury.
Wooton subter le Hedge.	Yatton.
Wraxall, Wraxsall.	

## III.

## BENEFIT OF CLERGY.

The *privilegium clericale* or *immunitas ecclesiæ* will be found discussed in the standard treatises. It may be of interest to mention that the passage generally selected for testing the culprit's attainments seems to have consisted of the words "*Miserere mei Deus*" from the first verse of the fiftieth Psalm of the Vulgate version (Ps. li., A.V.), which, from being thus constantly appealed to on a question of life or death, obtained the nickname of the "Neck Verse."

The following is from chap. xxii., vol. iii., of Reeves' History of the English Law:—"In the reign of Ed. IV. when an ordinary refused a man who prayed his clergy and read, the matter was certified into the King's Bench and the ordinary was fined; under the idea that he was only minister of the court, and not the judge in such a case. Again, one who had abjured for felony in killing a man being taken prayed his clergy: it happened in that case that the man could read only two or three words here and there, and not any three words together, and yet the ordinary was pleased to claim him as a clerk, upon which it was observed by the whole court that if it appeared to them that the prisoner could not read, the ordinary should be heavily fined and the convict hanged: adding that they were judges of his reading for they were to make the award, *quod legit ut clericus ideo tradatur ordinario*. It was at the same time intimated that the reading need not be so very perfect and accurate as was pretended, for a felon being tried by Fortescue and not being able to read but only to spell and to put syllables together was nevertheless allowed his clergy. It had been the common course for prisoners to claim the benefit of their clergy upon the arraignment: this was thought prejudicial to the party for he had no challenge to the inquest *ex officio ut sciatur qualis ordinario liberari debeat*, by which

conviction nevertheless he forfeited his goods and chattels together with the profits of his lands until he had made purgation. To remedy this Sir John Prisot, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, in concert with the other judges, in the reign of Henry VI. made an alteration which was thought more advantageous to prisoners than the old practice. This was, not to allow the benefit of clergy upon the arraignment but to recommend to the prisoner to plead to the felony and put himself on the jury *de bono et malo*. Thus he had the advantage of his challenges and the chance of an acquittal on the merits; and after all, if convicted he might still claim his clergy. This was a variation in the practice of our criminal courts which was greatly commended and was followed by most of his successors."

For the foregoing extract from Reeves' History, and for the following personal reminiscences, I am indebted to S. B. Merriman, Esq., Treasurer of the Wiltshire Society:—"My recollections of quarter sessions at Marlborough date back to 1820, and thence to 1826. Whipping was not common, but I remember once seeing a youth of about 17 tried for stealing linen hung to dry on a hedge, the property of some poor woman. He was tried in the second court and was sentenced to be imprisoned and once publicly whipped. I remember I was going down the street the next day and just in front of the Market house saw a carpenter's bench with an erection of two posts and a board like stocks. Soon up came the gaoler (Alexander, afterwards transferred to Devizes), leading the culprit stripped to the waist, who was assisted up on to the bench: his hands were put through the holes, and I remember that the holes were too big, and that handkerchiefs had to be bound round his wrists to prevent him from slipping through the holes. Alexander did not flog the man: this was done by a deputy, who had been in the army, and I remember that the 'cat' was a very light and merciful one made for the occasion by this expert; the blows—thirty or thirty-six in number—were not savagely given, they did not draw blood; but the lad's back was livid with bruises, and it was evidently a sharp punishment. I remember that the mob hooted and hustled the executioner after the punishment was over, and one of the most indignant among the crowd was the servant of a local schoolmaster,

who by no means excluded corporal punishment from his system of education. As to claiming benefit of clergy, my recollection is that so soon as a verdict of guilty was given the Clerk of the Peace addressed the prisoner with some such words as 'having been duly convicted of the felony laid to your charge, have you anything to say why judgment should not be passed on you.' This of course meant sentence of death for a felony; the convicted person had of course nothing to say, and was then desired to 'kneel and pray the benefit of the statute,' whereupon, being instructed by the gaoler or constable, he bent his knee, and having thus by a gesture, of which perhaps he was only half conscious, made a claim on the court, of which he had even less understanding, he received sentence from the chairman.'

Benefit of clergy was formally abolished by the Act of 7 & 8 Geo. IV., cap. 28: branding had long previously fallen into disuse.

*(To be Continued.)*

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## On a Hoard of Gold Nobles found at Bremeridge Farm, Westbury, Wilts.<sup>1</sup>

By the Rev. J. BARON, D.D., F.S.A.,

Rector of Upton Scudamore, Wilts.

**I**N the early part of September, 1877, there was found on Bremeridge Farm, in the parish of Westbury, Wilts, belonging to Charles Paul Phipps, Esq., of Chalcot, a hoard of thirty-two gold coins. They were found during repairs and improvements of the homestead, about a foot and a half below the surface, in the courtyard, piled one above another, without any appearance of a purse or box. The place of deposit would be indicated by a line

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<sup>1</sup> This paper was read at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, London, and is here reprinted, by permission, from *Archæologia*, vol. xlvii., pp. 137-156.

producing the east end of the main building southwards to a distance of about 13 feet from the wall of the present back kitchen.

The workmen, as a matter of course, appropriated the coins and distributed them among themselves, being fully alive to their intrinsic value, but all unwitting, apparently, of the laws of treasure-trove. Mr. Phipps, with great promptitude, made the workmen understand that the coins belonged neither to them as finders nor to himself as owner of the soil and employer, but to the Queen, and must be sent forthwith to the Treasury. By this means thirty-two pieces were recovered uninjured, except that a little bit had been scooped out of the edge of one, apparently to test the metal. After a careful examination and list had been made they were sent to the Treasury in a registered packet on the 18th of September.

About the 18th of December twenty-eight of the coins were received back from the Treasury, three of the original number being retained for the Mint and one for the British Museum, and express provision was made for the liberal reward of the workmen who had discovered this interesting hoard.

The general type of the coins resembles those engraved in Ruding<sup>1</sup> as nobles of Edward III., viz., Obverse, EDWARD DEI GRA REX ANGL ET FRANC<sup>2</sup> D. HYB. The king standing in a ship, crowned, holding in the right hand a drawn sword, and on the left arm a shield bearing the arms of France and England. Reverse, ✠ IHC AUTEM TRANSIENS PER MEDIUM ILLORUM IBAT (St. Luke, iv., 30), a cross fleury with a fleur de lis at each point, and a lion passant gardant under a crown in each quarter.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Annals of the Coinage, 1817."

<sup>2</sup> ET FRANC was distinctly read on eight, but, instead of this part of the legend, fourteen at least have DUX AQU or ET AQT, &c., either after or before D. HYB, &c.

<sup>3</sup> Leake's "Hist. Acc. of English Money," 1745. Folke's "Table of English Gold Coins," Soc. Ant. London, 1763. Pegge's "Remarks on the first Noble of Edward III.," 1773, "Archæologia," vol. iii. Cuff's "Note on some Gold Coins of Edward III. and Richard II." 1842, "Numism. Chron." vol. v. is interesting in reference to these Bremeridge nobles.

As one of the many examples now happily existing of the influence of antiquarian research in improving the illustrations of educational books, it may be mentioned that there is a good engraving of a noble of Edward III. in "The Student's Hume," 1859.

In some of the Bremeridge specimens the French arms are represented *semée* of fleurs de lis as assumed by Edward III.; in some there are four or more fleurs de lis indicated in the 1st quarter, and three in the 4th and more circumscribed quarter, while some one or two have distinctly three fleurs de lis in both quarters, as afterwards adopted by Charles VI. of France, who began to reign A.D. 1380, and as expressly imitated by our Henry V.<sup>1</sup> We may reasonably expect to find some exceptional instances of three fleurs de lis anticipating the formal enactment of change in each country, because it is much easier to depict a small definite number than *semée*. On the other hand, it would appear from the fifteenth century illuminations of Froissart MSS. that some who had a right to quarter the arms of France, notwithstanding the regular practice of Charles VI. and his successors, still chose, from a conservative feeling, to depict them *semée* of fleurs de lis, which coat came to be called for distinction "Ancient France."<sup>2</sup>

Some of those which have the name of Edward on the obverse have on the reverse in the centre the initial  $\text{E}$  of fourteenth century shape.<sup>3</sup>

The coin which has had a piece unfortunately cut out of it by the finders, as above mentioned, happens to be particularly interesting as being one of the three of Richard II. in this hoard, resembling those already described of Edward III. with the exception of having the name Richard, which is somewhat defaced, on the obverse, and the initial R in the centre of the reverse. These nobles of Richard are not so well coined as those of Edward in the same hoard, and the mutilated coin already mentioned being curiously blundered both

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<sup>1</sup> Sandford's "Geneal. Hist.," book III., c. iii., p. 157, note.

<sup>2</sup> "Ce fut seulement après Charles V. que les armes de France furent régulièrement fixées a trois fleurs de lis : tandis que depuis Philip le Hardi, qui le premier plaça trois fleurs de lis sur son sceau [en 1285] ("Nouveau Traité de Diplomatie," 1759, t. iv., p. 137), on les trouve tantôt sans nombre, tantôt reduites à trois." "Trésor de Numism." "Hist. de l' Art Monétaire," 1846.

<sup>3</sup> One has  $\alpha$ , *i.e.*, c, which may possibly be intended to denote Calais as the place of mintage. See Cuff's Note, &c., above cited.

on the obverse and reverse seems to indicate either a forgery, or great disorganisation in the proceedings of the mint.

The most curious, from the historical point of view, appear to be four which, having on the obverse the armed figure in the ship, like the rest, have nevertheless, instead of the arms of Edward III., those of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, as shown in the illuminations of Froissart, except the tinctures, which could not be expressed on coin, viz., 1st and 4th quarters, azure semée of fleurs de lis or, within a bordure compony gules and argent; 2nd and 3rd, bendy or and azure within a bordure gules, with the legend P. H. S. DEI GRA DUX BURG COMES & DNS FLAND.

This quartered coat, sometimes called modern Burgundy, was assumed by Philip the Bold, fourth son of John II. of France, when created Duke of Burgundy in 1363. The coat in the 2nd and 3rd quarters is that of the first house of Burgundy, which flourished upwards of three hundred and twenty years, and came to an end in 1361, by the decease of Philip le Rouvre, Duke of Burgundy, betrothed to Margaret, heiress presumptive of Flanders, who at the said date was about 11 years old. The arms on these Flemish nobles agree minutely with the coat depicted over the head of Philip the Bold in the illumination of the MS. of Froissart in the British Museum, where he is represented sitting in council with the Duke of Berri.<sup>1</sup>

The diameter of the coins is nearly  $1\frac{3}{8}$  in., a little larger than our half-crown, the thickness scarcely more than that of a sixpence, the average weight 120 grains, nearly that of a sovereign. They all appear to be of the finest gold, and the impressions are mostly clear and sharp, showing very little wear from circulation, but some few are not so successfully coined as others, and are somewhat blurred. The value of the noble as mentioned below in the quotation from a contemporary chronicle was fixed at 6s. 8d., but it must be borne in mind

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<sup>1</sup> In Humphrey's "Illustrations of Froissart," 1844-5, vol. i., pl. xv., vol. ii., pl. xxiii., the illuminations are misrepresented, the bordure gules not being indicated all round the bends in the 2nd and 3rd quarters. In "Geneal. Hist, des Mais. Souv.," 1738, t. IV., l. ii., c. i., art. 3, the coat is given correctly.



that there was great difficulty in the early issues of gold coinage about adjusting its relations to silver, and the relations which existed in the fourteenth century are now entirely changed. The bullion value of each of the Bremeridge nobles is now about 20s. The term noble as money of account in the sense of 6s. 8d. is still used in reference to the distribution of a charity founded in 1670 at the neighbouring town of Warminster.

The type of an armed figure in a ship, with the text from St. Luke, on the reverse, devised in commemoration of the great naval victory off Sluys, A.D. 1340, was continued in successive reigns till the time of Henry VI., and traces of it are found still later.<sup>1</sup>

In the better specimens the armour of the figure in the ship indicates a resemblance to the chain gorget, &c., worn in the latter part of the fourteenth century.<sup>2</sup>

The popular use of the above-quoted text of St. Luke as a pious ejaculation is noted by the contemporary Sir John Maundeville, who set forth on his travels in 1322, and died at Liège in 1371.

His words are:—

“And an half myle fro Nazarethe, is the Lepe of oure Lord: for the Jewes ladden him upon an highe Roche, for to make him lepe doun, and have slayn him: but Jesu passed amonges hem, and lepte upon another Roche; and zit ben the Steppes of his Feet sene in the Roche, where he allyghte, And therefore seyn sum men, when thei dreden hem of Thefes on ony Weye, or of Enemyes; *Jesus autem transiens per mediam illorum ibat*; that is to seyne, *Jesus forsoothe passynge be the myddes of hem, he wente*: in tokene and mynde, that oure Lord passed thorgh the Jewes Crueltee and scaped safly fro hem; so surely mowe men passen the perile of Thefes. And than sey Men 2 vers of the Psautre, 3 Sithes: \* *Irruat super eos formido & pavor, in magnitudine Brachii tui, Domine. Fiant immobiles, quasi Lapis, donec pertranseat populus tuus, Domine; donec pertranseat populus tuus iste, quem possedisti.* †

“And thanne may men passe with outen perile.” ‡

<sup>1</sup> Folke's "Tables" and Ruding's "Annals," above cited.

<sup>2</sup> Stothard's "Monumental Effigies," 1817, "The Black Prince."

\* i.e., 3 times—*sith* is an Anglo-Saxon word.

† "Exodus," xv., 16, Vulgate. The "Song of Moses," from which these words are taken, is appended to the "Greek Psalter," Venice, 1864, p. 178. Iteration is much practised in the devotions of the Greek Church, particularly of select verses after the recitation of a psalm. "Horologion," Venice, 1864, pp. 36, 42. Triple iteration is frequently prescribed, e.g., Κύριε ἐλέησον *ibid.*, p. 1. Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις, *ibid.*, p. 35, *et alibi*. Compare "Utrecht Psalter," Autotype, Lond., pl. 6 a. "Psalter of Robert de Lindesey," fourteenth century, Soc. Ant. Lond. MS. No. 59, f. 209.

‡ "Maundeville's Travels," c. x.

Although many may have used the above text superstitiously, many may have used it religiously; and as Mr. Pegge remarks in contending against the alchymist interpretation, it is not reasonable to suppose that even in the fourteenth century the text was placed upon the public coin of this realm as a mere amulet or charm.<sup>1</sup> The true explanation seems to be that religion was in that day a prevailing fashion of thought, and that many of the great offices of state were held by ecclesiastics. Hence many of the inscriptions on coins and medals were religious. Englishmen reflecting from a religious point of view upon the victory of Sluys would naturally regard it as a great providential deliverance from annihilation by overwhelming numbers. The experience of Crécy and Poitiers would confirm the use of the favorite text. Other inscriptions in use at the time were *Exaltabitur in gloria*, Ps. cxi., 9. *Domine ne in furore tuo arguas me*, Pss. vi., 1 and xxxvii., 2. *Posui Deum adjutorem meum*. Cf. Ps. li., 9. "*Dieu et mon droit*" was first placed on his seal by Edward III. in 1339.<sup>2</sup>

Before some of the great battles, as Crécy, the soldiers of both armies confessed and heard mass, and some received the Holy Sacrament.<sup>3</sup>

Much light upon the gold coinage of Edward III. and religious inscriptions is obtained by reference to the coinage of French kings,

<sup>1</sup> At the conclusion of the reading of this paper, A. W. Franks, Esq., Director, remarked that this text, "*Jesus autem*," &c., is certainly found in treatises of alchemy, and on finger rings of the fourteenth century of Italian workmanship. R. S. Poole, Esq., of the British Museum, has kindly called my attention to "*Botica de los Templarios*," the wooden front of a druggist shop, fourteenth century, formerly attached to a house of the Templars in Toledo, and now in the Architectural Hall of the Kensington Museum, having carved upon it the same text. In 1866 a gold ring was found about five inches deep in the ground at Montpensier in Auvergne by a shepherdess, inscribed "*S. Georgius. Jesus autem transiens per medium illorum ibat*." This ring was exhibited by Mr. Hailstone before the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, as stated in "*The Academy*," p. 518, June 8th, 1878. It was afterwards submitted to Mr. Franks, and by him pronounced to be an interesting ring of Italian workmanship, fourteenth century, but not necessarily connected with Edward III. or the Black Prince.

<sup>2</sup> Longman's "*Life of Edward III.*," vol. i., p. 156.

<sup>3</sup> Froissart's "*Chron.*"

particularly of Louis IX. (St. Louis), A.D. 1226—1270. This king copied his florin from the "fleur de lis" of Florence, and afterwards originated the "agnel d'or," having on the obverse an "Agnus Dei," with the inscription "Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi miserere nobis," and on the reverse "XPC vincit XPC regnat XPC imperat." This coin with its inscriptions was imitated by Edward III. of England and by John II. of France. Hence the "aignels d'or," afterwards vulgarly called "moutons d'or," when the sacred significance of the emblem was forgotten.

The inscription "XPC vincit, &c.," was continued on the gold coins of France till Louis XVI.<sup>1</sup>

French example and art had doubtless great influence in England, but the particular device of the armed figure in the ship and the quotation from St. Luke were originated by Edward III, and his advisers.

The significance of the armed figure in a ship and of the quotation as being both commemorative of the great naval victory off Sluys, 24th June, 1340, is clearly explained by Thomas de Burton, who was elected Abbot of Meaux, in Yorkshire, A.D. 1396:—

"Ipsae autem naves Francorum prius catenatae erant, ne ab invicem possent separari. Sed, ante primum congressum, Edwardo rege cum sua classe fugam simulante, catenas suas rumpebant, et regem Edwardum inordinate sequebantur. Quod videns Edwardus Rex, ordine disposito per medium ipsorum transibat, et de illis victoriam ut praedicatur adeptus est. Quapropter iste rex Edwardus impressionem monetae suae aureae fecerat commutari. Unde in suo nobili, dimidium marcam valente, ex una ejus parte navem cum rege armato in eo contento, regio nomine circumscripto, et ex altera ejus parte crucem imprimi constituens, hanc circumscriptionem adhibuit, 'Jesu autem transiens per medium illorum ibat.'"\*

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. "Trésor de Numism.," above cited, p. 3. The agnel d'or as adopted by Edward III. or the Black Prince, had EDWARD inscribed under the feet of the lamb in place of LVD. REX.

Since the above paper was printed in "Archæologia," vol. xlvii., I have found that the words *Christus vincit, &c.*, are prescribed with triple iteration at the beginning of a litany of the time of Charlemagne, A.D. 800, in Paris MS. 13159, quoted in "Swainson on Creeds," p. 351, note, cf. p. 352; London, Murray, 1875.

An Edwardian agnel is in the British Museum, and also agnels of John II. of France, &c. J. BARON.

\* "Chron. Monast. de Melsa," vol. III., p. xxxii. 45.

The following notices from contemporary chronicles are interesting as giving the place and date of the first issue of gold nobles, about four years after the great naval victory off Sluys, and stating that they were called nobles because they were handsome in appearance and of pure gold.

[A.D. 1343.]

"Hoc anno apud turrin Londoniarum jussit rex florenos fieri; scilicet denarium, obolum, et quadrantem."\*

"Circa idem tempus ordinavit rex primo florenos aureos pro moneta ad currendum in Anglia; quod parum duravit, quia parum profuit."†

[A.D. 1344.]

"Circa festum Assumptionis beatae Mariae, dominus rex ad utilitatem regni sui prohibuit antiquam monetam florenorum, et ordinavit novam; scilicet majorem florenum de dimidia marca; minorem de tribus solidis, quatuor denariis; et minimam de viginti denariis; et vocantur nobiles, et digne, quia nobiles sunt pulchri et puri."†

Provision was made two years afterwards for coining these nobles in Flanders as well as in England, but the Flemish coinage was first established in close alliance and co-operation with our Edward III., and was as much under his authority and control as the English coinage.<sup>1</sup> This great king in his struggle with France was fully alive to the importance of a close connection with Flanders, commercially, politically, and strategically. He used every means to cultivate this connexion, and in many of his efforts he was successful; but upon some points of intrigue he was outmanœuvred by France, as in his attempt in 1347 to marry his daughter Isabella to Louis de Mâle, the young Count of Flanders, and afterwards, in 1364, his son Edmund of Langley to Margaret, the heiress presumptive of Flanders.<sup>2</sup> In the coinage of nobles he made a great advance towards establishing an international currency between England and Flanders.

\* "Chron. Angl. Mon. S. Alb.," M R S.

† "Ad. Mur. Chron.," E H S.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>2</sup> Froissart's "Chron." and Walsingham's "Hist. Angl."

The Bremeridge specimens bearing the name and arms of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy and Count of Flanders, were not devised by that right royal duke nor copied by him from some imaginary continental type, but are most interesting examples of an adoption and continuation of the coinage of gold nobles established in Flanders by our Edward III. the next month after the battle of Crécy in 1346.

The style *Dominus*, in addition to *Comes Flandriae*, appears to be a following of *Dominus Hiberniae*, part of the title of the English kings.

The putting together for contemplation of a few dates, historical events, and documents, will best illustrate the history of gold nobles, both English and Flemish.

1327. Although Edward III. from his accession at the age of 15 asserted his claim to be King of France, he did not actually take that title till about 1337, after consultation with Van Artevelde and the Flemings.<sup>1</sup> In 1338 his third son Lionel was born at Antwerp, in the Dukedom of Brabant, and was afterwards known as Lionel of Antwerp. Some suppose the name Lionel to have been chosen in allusion to the lion which is the heraldic bearing of the Duke of Brabant. In 1339 Edward formally and regularly took the title of King of France, and quartered his arms with those of France to satisfy the Flemings.

1340. The victory at sea off Sluys.

Edward III., as early as 1336, had claimed that "the kings of England were lords of the English Sea on all sides." After this victory and the equally splendid one over the Spanish fleet in 1350 he was called by his own subjects and others "King of the Sea."<sup>2</sup>

Edward's fourth son John was this year born at Ghent, and hence he was afterwards known as John of Gaunt.

1343-4. First issue of gold nobles.

In the following year William de Edington became Bishop of Winchester. He was born at Edington, Wilts, and founded the

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Longman, "Life of Edward III.," vol. i., pp. 124, 156.

<sup>2</sup> Longman, "Life of Edward III.," vol. i., p. 328, and vol. ii., p. 217.

convent and Church there, to which Bremeridge, five miles distant, afterwards belonged. He introduced Bonhommes, an order of Augustin friars, into the convent by the persuasion of Edward the Black Prince. He was Treasurer and Chancellor of England, took much interest in the coinage, was a great favourite with Edward III., and was offered the Archbishopric of Canterbury, but refused it. He invented and introduced, in 1351, the groat and half-groat, which seem to have been intended as a boon to the poorer sort of the community, and so a fit sequel to the gold nobles for the rich and great. He died in 1366, and was succeeded as Treasurer and Chancellor of England and as Bishop of Winchester by William of Wykeham.<sup>1</sup>

1346. On Saturday, the 26th of August, was fought the battle of Crécy, and on the 8th of September and 24th of March following were signed by Edward III. at Westminster agreements for the currency of English nobles in Flanders, and for coining nobles in Flanders to be current both there and in England.<sup>2</sup>

In the same year was fought the battle of Neville's Cross, in which David II. of Scotland was taken prisoner. He remained captive in England eleven years.

1356. Battle of Poitiers.

John II. of France was taken prisoner with his fourth son Philip, then 16 years of age, who, from his bravery on this occasion and general character, was ever afterwards called "the Bold."

1360. Treaty of Bretigni. Edward III. renounced his claim to the throne of France in return for great concessions. This change is noted on his coins.

1363. Philip the Bold created Duke of Burgundy and first peer of France.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The property at Bremeridge was not acquired by the Convent of Edington till about a year after the decease of its founder; but he had been brought into near connection with the locality from having the care and profits of the manor of Westbury, &c., granted to him by Edward III. Hoare's "Hist. of Wilts, Westbury," p. 59.

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>3</sup> "Geneal. Hist. des Mais. Souv.," above cited. "Hist. de Bourgogne," Dijon, 1730.

1369. He married Margaret, heiress presumptive of Flanders. Edward III. resumed the title of King of France, which title accordingly reappears on his coins.

1371. David II. had come to England in 1363 to negotiate for the succession of Edward's third son Lionel to the Scottish throne, and was then cordially received and recognised as King of Scotland. Shortly before his decease in 1371 he issued gold nobles in Scotland, in imitation of those of England.<sup>1</sup>

1375. Great festivities and tournaments, lasting four days, were given at Ghent by the Duke of Burgundy.

1377. Decease of Edward III. and accession of his grandson Richard II.

1384. Philip the Bold becomes Count of Flanders by the decease of Louis de Mâle,<sup>2</sup> and assumes the style which appears on his nobles.

1399. Richard II. deposed, and succeeded by Henry IV.

1404. Philip the Bold dies, and is buried with great pomp in the Carthusian Church which he had founded at Dijon. His magnificent tomb was taken to pieces in consequence of an order of the Commune in 1793 for its destruction; but it was put together again in 1818 without much injury, and is now in the Museum at Dijon.<sup>3</sup> His widow survived him one year, and was buried in the Isle of Flanders.

1417. 5 Henry V. The nobles of Flanders, "vulgarly called Bourgoigne nobles," are forbidden, under penalty, to be received in England, as being of less value than those now coined in England.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Pinkerton's Essay on Medals," vol. II., pl. ii.

<sup>2</sup> "At the same time [1384], the burghers' old foe, Louis de Mâle, Count of Flanders, perished by an obscure death, probably in a brawl with the Duke of Berri. Flanders then fell into the hands of Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, who had it in right of Margaret his wife. He was wise and conciliatory, restored the Flemish liberties, and was himself more a Fleming than a Lily prince. And thus the foundations of the great Burgundian Dukedom, stretching in a curve from the sea round the whole northern and much of the eastern frontier of France, were securely laid." Kitchin's "Hist. of France," 1873, vol. i., p. 482.

<sup>3</sup> "Hist. de Bourgoigne," above cited, t. iii., p. 204. Murray's "Handbook of France."

<sup>4</sup> See Appendix B.

The nobles of the Bremeridge hoard are of various dates, as might be expected, but within moderate limits, just as at the present day we often have in our pockets coins not only of various dates in the reign of Victoria, but specimens also of the coinage of William IV., George IV., and even of George III. Some of the earlier nobles can be assigned to the year 27 Ed. III., *i.e.*, 1353-4, and are therefore now five hundred and twenty-four years old. The extreme limit at the other end of the period would be 1417, when the reception of the nobles called Burgundian was prohibited: but this range can be reduced with much probability. As some of the nobles are of Richard II., it is clear that the hoard could not have been deposited before that reign, which lasted from 1377 to 1399, that is, twenty-two years. The deposit is not likely to have taken place much later than 1399, or it would, in all probability have contained some coins of a succeeding reign.

“Burgundian” nobles may have been current in England from 1384, when they were first coined, to 1417, when their currency was prohibited by Henry V.; but it is only natural to suppose that the Burgundian specimens in this hoard are not later than the latest date which can reasonably be assigned to any of the English, that is 1399.

The circumstances of the discovery in 1877, detailed above, seem to indicate in some degree the manner of the deposit.

The nobles appear to have been put into a bag sufficiently narrow to keep them piled one above another, and then to have been let down into a hole made with a fold stake, locally called a “fossle,” or some such instrument, and covered in with earth till wanted.<sup>1</sup>

The unexpected decease of the depositor, either by violence or natural cause, would account for the treasure being lost.

The practice of hoarding nobles in a poke or bag is indicated by the contemporary poet Chaucer:—

“Certes, were it gold  
Or in a poke nobles al untold.”\*

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<sup>1</sup> The holes now made by a shepherd in pitching a fold are about fifteen inches in firm greensward and about eighteen inches in looser soil.

\* “The Milleres Tale,” v. 3777.



The locality of Bremeridge is interesting, having belonged to Philip Marmyon in the reign of Edward I., and afterwards passed to Sir Philip Fitzwaryn and his wife Constance, who transferred it by exchange to the prior and convent of Edington in 1367-8.<sup>1</sup> Hoare gives three documents, of the years 38, 40, and 41 Edw. III., A.D. 1364 and 1367, relating to Bremeridge, which are of great interest as being contemporary with the coins, and as illustrating the name and ownership of the locality. The payments mentioned are also noteworthy, and possibly, by numismatic sifting, might be found to correspond curiously to the amount of the Bremeridge hoard.

The chief points to be gathered from these deeds seem to be, that the Rector of the Church at Edington and the convent thereof became possessed of the manor, &c., of Highway, in the parish of Bremhill, near Calne, Wilts, in fee-farm, paying ten pounds, that is thirty nobles, yearly to the Bishop of Salisbury as chief lord<sup>2</sup> in right of his Church of the Blessed Mary, of Salisbury, and an occasional "relief" of 6*s.* 8*d.*, *i.e.*, one noble, upon every avoidance of the said rectory of Edington; and the annual profits of the said manor, after paying the fee-farm rent to the Bishop, were estimated at 13*s.* 4*d.*, *i.e.*, two nobles. Thus the whole annual rent of the property, in exchange for which the Rector and Convent of Edington obtained the manor of Bremeridge, amounts exactly to thirty-two nobles.<sup>3</sup> The two earlier deeds are in Latin. By the third deed, which is in French, on Thursday next before the Feast of St. Valentine, 41 Ed. III., A.D. 1367, Sir Philip Fitzwaryn and his wife Constance, grant to John, Rector of Edington, and to the convent thereof, in exchange for the manor of Highway, &c., in the

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<sup>1</sup> "Cal. I. P. M.," vol. i., p. 57, vol. ii., p. 277. Also Hoare's "Hist. of Wilts, Westbury," pp. 58 to 62, above cited. Aubrey and Jackson's "Wiltshire Collections," 1862.

<sup>2</sup> The patronage of the Vicarage of Bremhill with Highway and Foxham still belongs to the Bishops of Salisbury.

<sup>3</sup> It therefore seems natural to surmise that this hoard may be the amount of rent prepared by the tenant of Bremeridge for the Rector and Convent of Edington between 1384 and 1399.

parish of "Bremel," le manor de Bremelrugg ove housbote et heybote renables estovers et communes en lez boys de Westbury et la voeson d'une chauntrie de Hewode et une mees et quinze acres de terre in Dulton, &c., *i.e.*, the manor of Bremeridge, with materials for repair of house and fences, and with reasonable supplies and commons in the woods of Westbury, and the advowson of a chantry of Heywood [in Westbury Church] and a messuage [*i.e.*, superior dwelling-house] and fifteen acres of land in Dilton.<sup>1</sup>

Bremel is, in Anglo-Saxon, a common form of the word now known in English as *bramble*.<sup>2</sup>

Bremhill, the modern form of the name of the village above referred to near Calne, Wilts, is a late alteration. The Norman scribe in Domesday Survey writes the name "Breme," of course intending the final e to be sounded, and he states that part of the land there was four acres of bramble wood.<sup>3</sup> Bremeridge has clearly the same origin for its first part, either from early connection with "Bremel," now called "Bremhill," or from its own supply of brambles in early times. The shape of the land where the homestead stands is so clearly a ridge, as marked in the Ordnance Map, that there can be no doubt of the significance of the latter part of the name. Bremeridge or Bremridge is a conveniently worn down form of Bremelrugg, &c., but Brembridge is surely an inconvenient and misleading corruption, no considerable stream being near to require a bridge.

Doubtless further illustrations might be obtained by referring to other documents connected with Edington, Salisbury Cathedral, and the locality.

The Bremeridge nobles are most interesting as historical tokens, giving life and reality to the English, French, and Flemish history of the period, especially to the Chronicle of Froissart.

It is within the bounds of possibility that, by antiquarian research or even by what may be called happy accident, it may yet be dis-

<sup>1</sup> Apparently that part of Dilton called then as now Dilton Marsh.

<sup>2</sup> In Genesis, iii., 18, the words of the Vulgate, "Spinas et tribulos germinabit tibi," are rendered by the Anglo-Saxon translator "Thornas and bremelas heo asprit the." "Bibl. der Anglesächs. Prosa, Grein, Cassel und Goettingen," 1872.

<sup>3</sup> Jones's "Domesday for Wilts, 1865, p. 38, and note.

covered to whom the money belonged about A.D. 1399, and whether it was hidden by a thief or by an honest man in fear of thieves, or marauders, in troublous times such as attended the deposition of Richard II.

One lesson to be learnt from the particulars of this discovery is, the importance of upholding the laws of treasure trove, amending them if need be, and making it understood that the Treasury will deal liberally with finders if they act frankly and loyally. The research which has been made in the preparation for this paper further illustrates remarkably the value of contemporary evidence, the importance of having recourse to the most authentic sources which are accessible, and the help which may be derived from numismatists and heraldry, but, above all, from the fraternal intercourse and readiness of communication which exist amongst antiquaries. I am bound especially to acknowledge valuable hints received from Mr. Franks, Mr. Bond, Mr. Poole, and other officials of the British Museum and of the Mint.

The chief points now fully illustrated, but before more or less obscure, are, the hold of Edward III. on Flanders; the significance of the device of the armed figure in a ship,<sup>1</sup> and the special intention of the text on the reverse; the English originality of the noble, and yet the French influence traceable in the cross and ornaments of the reverse; the coinage of English nobles in Flanders and their currency both there and in England from 1346 to 1417, *i.e.*, seventy-one years; the identification of the Flemish nobles found at Bremeridge as belonging to Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, who was Count of Flanders from 1384 to 1404, and not to his grandson Philip the Good, who held the same possession from 1419 to 1466.

---

<sup>1</sup> In order to appreciate more fully the appropriateness of Edward III. representing himself as an armed figure in a ship, and also to account for the persistence of this device on the English coinage, it should be remembered that he was a great admiral as well as a great general, the army and navy not being distinct services, as in later times, that he expressly took the command off Sluys, displacing for the nonce the official admiral, Sir Thomas Beauchamp, that he was also a great promoter of commerce, especially of the Flemish trade in wool. The form of the ship is well illustrated by comparison with the illuminations of the Froissart MSS., and with the seal of Tenterden, of which there is an impression in the Architectural Museum, Tufton Street, Westminster.

APPENDIX A.<sup>1</sup>

## READINGS OF THE BREMERIDGE NOBLES.

*(ψ represents fleur de lis.)*

4. E DWARDI ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ REX ✕ ANGL ✕|✕ FRANC D B.

Arms, three fleurs de lis in both 1st and 4th quarters. Uppermost lion in 2nd quarter nearly obliterated. On gunwale, lion ψ lion ψ lion.

Rev. In centre ⚡.

✠ IHC ✕ AVTEM ✕ TRANCIENS ✕ P ✕ MEDIUM ✕ ILLOBUM ✕ IBAT.

Selected for plate as fig. 1, "Ed. III. General type, Bremeridge." N.B. in the arms most of the other Bremeridge specimens indicate semée of fleurs de lis, at least in 1st quarter.

5. ED WARD DEI ✕ GRA ✕ REX ✕ ANGL ✕ DNS ✕ HYB ✕|✕ AQVT.

Arms, decidedly semée in both 1st and 4th quarters. Fault of coinage in lions of 3rd quarter.

On stern of ship, flag with a cross on it. On gunwale, lion ψψ lion ψψ.

Rev. In centre α. Qy. for Calais as place of mint.

Selected for plate as fig. 2, "Ed. III. Type with flag, &amp;c., Bremeridge."

26. RICHARD ✕ DEI ✕ GRA REX ANGL DNS HY DVX AQ.

Arms of France, semée in first quarter. On gunwale, ψ lion ψ lion ψ lion ψ. Flag with cross, on stern. Rudder well indicated.

Rev. In centre B.

Selected for plate as fig. 4, "Ric. II. Bremeridge."

27. (QD)W RD ✕ DEI ✕ GRA ✕ REX ANGL DNS ✕ HB ✕ ♪ AQ.

Arms of France, semée in 1st quarter. Edge of shield beaded as in other Bremeridge specimens. Armour on breast and below waist obliterated. On gunwale, ψ lion ψ lion ψ.

Rev. In centre B, but indistinct. Text curiously blundered: viz.

+ IHC ✕ AVTDCO ✕ TRANCIENS ✕ PDR ✕ CO ✕ ILLORCO.

Badly coined. The blunders and the inferiority of execution seem to indicate

<sup>1</sup> In this reprint only those readings are given which refer to the coins selected for the plate.

either a forgery or great disorganisation in the proceedings of the mint at the time. Piece scooped out by finder.

Selected for plate as fig. 5, "Ric. II. blundered, Bremeridge."

30. PHS DEI ☞ GRA ☞ DVX ☞ BVRG ☞ COMES ☞f☞ DNS ☞ FLAND.

Sword and right side of figure somewhat defaced.

The arms beautifully indicated: viz. 1st and 4th quarters, fleurs de lis within a bordure compony, the coat of Philip the Bold as fourth son of John II. of France; the 2nd and 3rd quarters, bendy within a bordure, the arms of the first house of Burgundy, which came to an end in Philip le Rouvre in 1361. On gunwale, lion ψψ lion ψψ.

Rev. In centre P.

It seems noteworthy that the lions under crowns in the spandrils of the cross on the reverse are passant, open mouthed, but not gardant, as on the nobles of Edw. III. and Ric. II. in the same hoard.

## DESCRIPTION OF PLATE.

## GOLD NOBLES.

- Fig. 1. Edward III. General type, Bremeridge - - - App. A. No. 4  
 „ 2. Edward III. Type with Flag and Cross of St. George, Bremeridge No. 5  
 „ 3. David II. of Scotland, British Museum - - - -  
 „ 4. Richard II. Bremeridge - - - - - No. 26  
 „ 5. Richard II. blundered, Bremeridge . - - - - No. 27  
 „ 6. Flemish, Philip the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, Bremeridge - No. 30

N.B.—Figures 3 and 4 of the quarto plate in *Archæologia*, vol. *xlvii.*, facing p. 154, are in this reprint omitted, for want of room, as less necessary for illustration. On referring to the readings, Appendix A., on the preceding page, it will be seen that No. 26 is similar to No. 5, having the flag and cross on the obverse, but the letter *B* in the centre of the reverse.

28.9.84





1



2



5



6

GOLD NOBLES FROM BREMERIDGE FARM.





APPENDIX B.

PATENT ROLLS AND CLOSE ROLL.

Patent Roll, 19 Edward the Third, part 2, m. 14.

“ De tractando cum illis de fflandria de moneta auri.

“ Rex omnibus ad quos, &c., salutem Quia pro utilitate publica precipue mercatorum et aliorum hominum tam regni nostri Angliæ quam Comitatus fflandriæ desideramus quod moneta nostra auri vocata La Noble quam jam cudere fecimus in Anglia eundem cursum habeat in fflandria quem habet in Anglia et quod ad majorem multiplicationem dicte monete moneta predicta videlicet denarii oboli et quadrantes vocati nobles nomine nostro cudantur in fflandria Ita quod cursum tam in fflandria quam in Anglia habeant uniformem Nos de fidelitate et industria fidelium nostrorum dilectorum Willielmi Stury et Thome de Melchebourñ plenius confidentes assignavimus eos conjunctim et divisim ad tractandum et concordandum cum dilectis et fidelibus nostris Gubernatoribus Capitaneis Scabinis Burgimagistris Advocatis Consulibus et probis hominibus villarum de Gandavo Brugges et Ipres et aliorum locorum Comitatus fflandriæ et omnibus aliis quorum interest vel interesse poterit in futuro tam super cursu uniformi dicte monete in Anglia et in fflandria quam super dicta moneta in partibus fflandriæ facienda et cudenda et super emolumento ex ipsa cussione monete proventuro et super assignacionibus inde faciendis prout melius viderint vel viderit expedire et ad ea que sic tractata et concordata fuerint quacumque securitate firmanda Promittentes nos ratum et grátum habituros quicquid dicti Willielmus et Thomas vel eorum alter nostro nomine fecerint vel fecerit in premissis. In cujus, &c.

“ Datum apud Westmonasterium viii die Septembris.” (1345.)

Patent Roll, 20 Edward the Third, part 1, m. 19.

“ De moneta auri vocata La Noble in fflandria facienda et cudenda.”

This document is verbatim the same as the preceding, with the exception of the above title, the substitution of the name Gilbertus ne Wendelyngburgh for Thomas de Melchebourñ, and the date, “ Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium xxiiii die Marcii.” (1346.)

Close Roll, 5 Henry the Fifth, m. 18 d.

“ De proclamacione facienda

“ Rex Vicecomiti Kancie salutem Quia datum est nobis intelligi quod nobilia de fflandria que Burgoigne nobles vulgariter nuncupantur et que minoris valoris et precii ac pejoris alaie quam nobilia de cuneo nostro Anglie do novo fabricata existunt inter ligeos nostros infra regnum nostrum Anglie pro solucione diversarum summarum de die in diem continue currunt et recipiuntur in nostri prejudicium et contemptum ac dictorum ligeorum nostrorum dampnum fraudem et deceptionem manifesta necnon contra formam Statutorum in hac parte editorum

Nos indempnitati nostre ac ligeorum nostrorum predictorum prospicere volentes ut tenemur tibi precipimus firmiter injungentes quod statim visis presentibus in singulis locis infra ballivam tuam ubi magis expediens fuerit et necesse publice ex parte nostra proclamari facias ne quis cujuscunque status gradus seu condicionis fuerit aliqua hujusmodi nobilia Burgoigne nobles nuncupata sub forisfactura eorundem pro aliqua solucione exnunc fienda recipiat ullo modo set quod ipsi qui nobilia illa habent ea ad cambium nostrum infra Turrim nostram London(ie) deferant ibidem de novo cunanda. Et hoc nullatenus omittas. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium quinto die Aprilis. (1417.)

“Consimilia brevia dir(iguntur) singulis Vicecomitibus per Angliam ac Cancellario in Comitatu Palatino Lancastrie sub eadem data.”

The Committee desires to express its obligations to Dr. Baron for his generous gift of the plate which accompanies this paper. [ED.]

# WILTSHIRE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

Account of the Receipts and Disbursements of the Society, from the 1st January to 31st December, 1882, both days inclusive.

## GENERAL ACCOUNT.

DR. 1882. RECEIPTS.

Jan. 1st.	To Balance brought from last account.....	£ 239	s. 1	d. 5
Dec. 31st.	" Cash, Entrance Fees and Subscriptions received from Members during the Year .....	172	11	0
	" Transfer from Life Membership Fund .....	3	5	1
	" Cash received for Sale of Magazines .....	175	16	1
	" Ditto ditto for "Jackson's Aubrey" .....	42	19	2
	" Ditto ditto for Admission to the Museum .....	3	15	0
	" Ditto ditto for Admission to the Museum .....	8	5	11
	" Balance from Malnesbury Meeting .....	18	4	6

CR. 1882. DISBURSEMENTS.

Dec. 31st.	By Cash, sundry payments, including Postage, Carriage, &c. ....	£ 11	17	11
	" Ditto paid for Excavations at Overton, Kennet Hill and Bromham .....	3	10	6
	" Ditto Printing and Stationery .....	15	9	5
	" Printing and engraving &c., for Magazine, No. 59 .....	61	18	4
	" Ditto Ditto No. 60 .....	46	5	11
	" Furniture and fittings at Museum .....	40	0	0
	" Miscellaneous expenses at ditto .....	3	15	11
	" Attendance at ditto .....	20	10	0
	" Insurance .....	0	0	0
	" Land and Property Tax .....	1	19	0
	" Commission, &c. ....	66	4	11
	" Donation to Saxon Church Restoration Fund, Bradford-on-Avon .....	20	19	3
	" Balance: £150 Consols, cost. ....	160	13	9
	Cash .....	101	2	1
		251	15	10
		£488	2	1

## LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND.

DR. 1882.

Jan. 1st.	To Balance brought from last account.....	£ 31	15	10
Dec. 31st.	" Bank Interest .....	0	15	4
		£32	11	2

CR. 1882.

Dec. 31st.	By one-tenth to General Income Account .....	£ 3	5	1
	" Balance .....	29	6	1
		£32	11	2

28th July, 1883.  
Audited and found correct,  
ROBERT CLARK, }  
HENRY GATE } *Auditors.*

WILLIAM NOTT,  
*Financial Secretary.*

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# MAP OF A HUNDRED SQUARE MILES ROUND ABURY:

**With a Key to the British and Roman Antiquities  
occurring there.**

BY THE REV. A. C. SMITH,

*Rector of Yatesbury, and Hon. Secretary of the Wiltshire Archaeological  
and Natural History Society.*

**T**HIS work, the materials of which have been accumulating for twenty-five years, is the result of innumerable rides and rambles over the Downs of North Wilts; and deals with one of the most important archæological Districts in Europe. It will be published and issued to subscribers by the Marlborough College Natural History Society, and it will consist of two parts:—

First.—The *Great Map*—78 inches by 48 inches, on the scale of 6 linear inches, or 36 square inches, to the mile; it comprises 100 square miles round Abury, and includes the great plateau of the Downs of North Wilts, extending from Oliver's Camp, on Roundway Hill, on the west, to Mildenhall on the east; and from Broad Hinton on the north, to the Pewsey Vale on the south. The district thus mapped measures 13 miles from west to east, and 8 miles from north to south. Every square mile, marked off with faint lines, lettered with a capital letter and numbered, will show the Barrows, Camps, Roads, Dykes, Enclosures, Cromlechs, Circles, and other British and Roman Stone- and Earth-works of that district; every such relic, being lettered with a small letter in its own square, is readily found and easily referred to. The Map will be printed in six colours, viz., the Antiquities in red, the Roads in brown, the Lanes and Down Tracks in green, the Sarsen Stones in yellow, and the Streams and Ponds in blue.

Second.—The *Key to the Great Map*,—which is by far the most important part of the work and will form a general "Guide to the British and Roman Antiquities of North Wilts,"—will be a volume of large quarto size, and will contain the whole of the large Map in fifteen sections, measuring 18 inches by 12, and four supplementary sections, each measuring 6 inches by 12. The Letterpress will contain some account of each of the Antiquities, with references to and extracts from the best authorities, as well as figures of various Urns and other objects found in the Barrows, views of the Cromlechs, plans of the Camps, &c. An Index Map, on the scale of 1 inch to the mile, coloured, numbered, lettered, and divided like the Great Map, will accompany the volume; and the whole will be a general account of the Antiquities of North Wilts, inasmuch as the district thus delineated embraces nearly all the remains of earliest times which exist in the northern portion of the County.

Subscribers' names and addresses (a list of which will be published with the Index) will be received by the Rev. T. A. PRESTON, *The Green, Marlborough*. The cost of the Large Map and Key complete will be, to Subscribers, One Guinea and a half. Or, of the Map in sheet, and the Key only, (without Map in Sections,) One Guinea.

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No. LXII.

DECEMBER, 1883.

VOL. XXI.

THE  
WILTSHIRE  
Archæological and Natural History  
MAGAZINE,

Published under the Direction

OF THE

SOCIETY FORMED IN THAT COUNTY,

A.D. 1853.



DEVIZES:

PRINTED AND SOLD FOR THE SOCIETY BY H. F. BULL, SAINT JOHN STREET.

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## NOTICE TO MEMBERS.

Members who have not paid their Subscriptions to the Society *for the current year*, are requested to remit the same forthwith to the Financial Secretary, Mr. WILLIAM NOTT, 15, High Street, Devizes, to whom also all communications as to the supply of Magazines should be addressed, and of whom most of the back Numbers may be had.

The Numbers of this Magazine will not be delivered, as issued, to Members who are in arrear of their Annual Subscriptions, and who on being applied to for payment of such arrears, have taken no notice of the application.

All other communications to be addressed to the Honorary Secretaries: the Rev. A. C. SMITH, Yatesbury Rectory, Calne; and H. E. MEDLICOTT, Esq., Sandfield, Potterne, Devizes.

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The Rev. A. C. SMITH will be much obliged to observers of birds in all parts of the county, to forward to him notices of rare occurrences, early arrivals of migrants, or any remarkable facts connected with birds, which may come under their notice.

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*To be published by the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society.*

# THE FLORA OF WILTS.

BY THE REV. T. A. PRESTON, M.A.

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The Author will be glad if any who could assist him with a list of plants in their several localities would kindly communicate with him. Early information is particularly desired. Address—Rev. T. A. PRESTON, *The Green, Marlborough.*



# WILTSHIRE

## Archæological and Natural History

# MAGAZINE.

No. LXII.

DECEMBER, 1883.

VOL. XXI.

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### DEVIZES:

H. F. BULL, 4, SAINT JOHN STREET.

THE HISTORY OF THE

REIGN OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST

IN THE YEAR 1649

BY JOHN BURNET

IN TWO VOLUMES

THE SECOND VOLUME

CONTAINING THE

REIGN OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST

IN THE YEAR 1649

BY JOHN BURNET

IN TWO VOLUMES

THE SECOND VOLUME

CONTAINING THE

REIGN OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST

IN THE YEAR 1649

BY JOHN BURNET

IN TWO VOLUMES

THE SECOND VOLUME

CONTAINING THE

REIGN OF KING CHARLES THE FIRST

THE  
WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

"MULTORUM MANIBUS GRANDE LEVATUR ONUS."--*Ovid.*

Stonehenge Notes: The Fragments.

By Mr. CUNNINGTON, F.G.S.

**I**N his valuable paper on "The Petrology of Stonehenge,"<sup>1</sup> Professor Maskelyne speaks of the large number of chips or fragments that may be found by searching beneath the surface soil, immediately round the great circle of stones, especially on the south and west sides of it. Connected with this subject some important facts have since come to light, which we would now record in the *Wiltshire Magazine*.

Many specimens had been found on the surface during the short time that the Society was holding its gathering at Stonehenge, in August, 1876, but the attention of visitors having been directed to them, every fragment has been picked up, and none can now be found. In 1880 Mr. H. Cunnington dug up several specimens *under* the turf just within the vallum; and in other excavations in July of the following year he made discoveries which must not be passed by without notice.

It is well here specially to mention the important addition which he then made to our knowledge of Stonehenge by the discovery of the stumps of two of the stones, the existence of which had previously been unknown. One of these is the base of an obelisk belonging to the inner ellipse, situated between Nos. 56 and 58 of

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<sup>1</sup> *Wiltshire Magazine*, vol. xvii., p. 159.



the accompanying plan.<sup>1</sup> In position it ranges with the other stones forming this ellipse, and it is composed of the same material—diabasic rock. The block is about nine feet from No. 58, and slopes somewhat towards the north-west. It is embedded in a very tough substance, resembling concrete, of which we propose to speak further on.

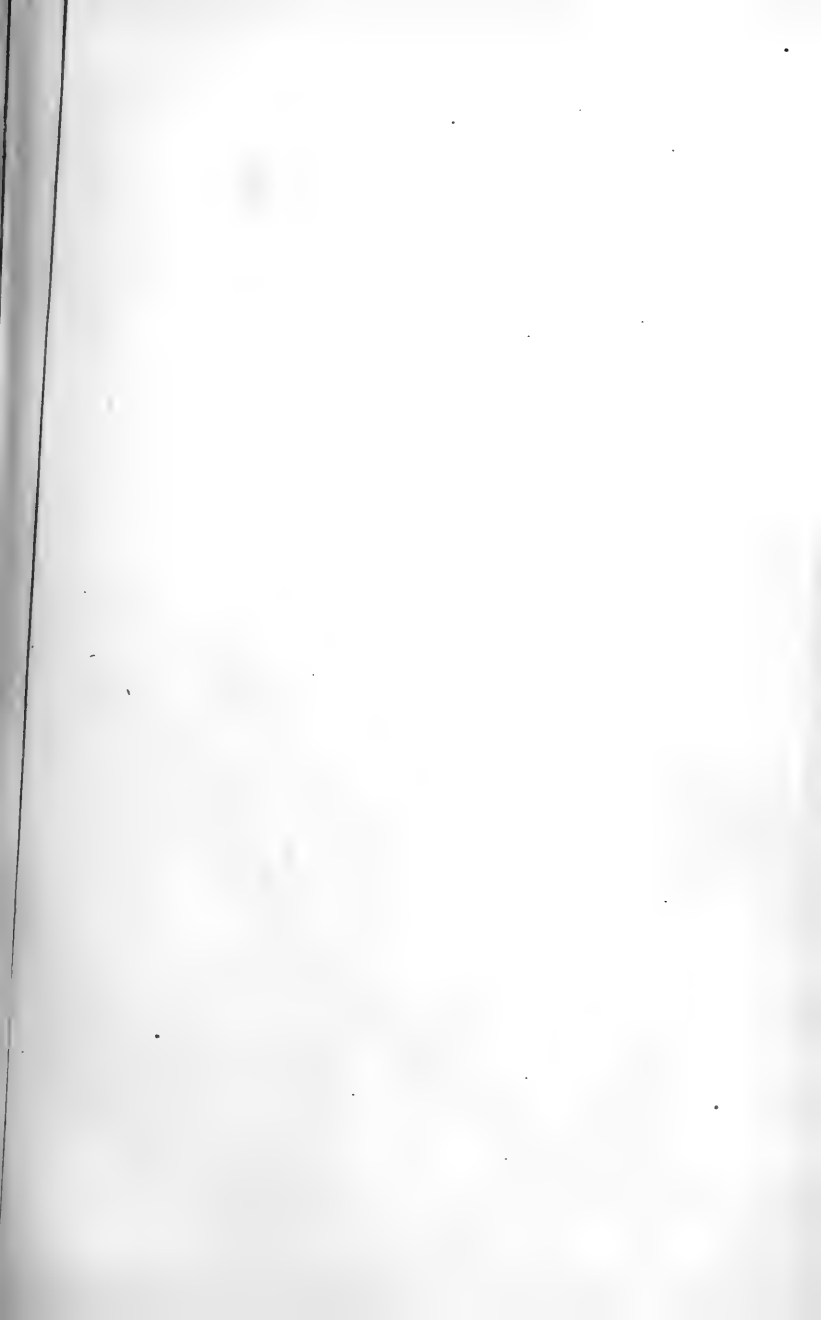
The other of these relics is all that remains of one of the small stones of the inner circle. It was found six inches below the turf, on the eastern side of the building, between Nos. 27 and 29, about ten feet from No. 27. It consists of a soft calciferous chloritic schist, foreign to the county of Wilts, and differing entirely from any of the other stones of Stonehenge. Fragments of this stone have been constantly turning up at Stonehenge, and in the neighbourhood [notably in Barrow 41 (Hoare's Map),<sup>2</sup> about a mile from Stonehenge], and have been a source of much perplexity to all petrologists; not belonging on the one hand to any known rock of this part of England, nor, as far as was then known, to Stonehenge itself. The late Mr. Poulett Scrope was the first to find a piece of it, now many years ago. Numerous splinters of it have since been discovered, and it is mentioned by Professor Maskelyne as a compact variety of rock, with a decided slaty cleavage and character.<sup>3</sup> Each specimen found added to the difficulty, but all this has been removed by the opportune discovery of the original stone as above-mentioned.

It is not surprising that the mere stump only remains, as the stone is so soft as to be easily broken by excursionists, both *ante*

<sup>1</sup> In the plan of Stonehenge which accompanies this paper the numbering has been simplified, so as to render it more available for general use. Number one commences with the stone on the left of the entrance, passing round the circle of large sarsen stones, with their lintels (marked "L"), thence to the inner circle of small foreign stones, then to the ellipse of the five great trilithons of sarsen, with their imposts (marked "I"), and then to the inner ellipse of (diabase—foreign) obelisks.

<sup>2</sup> Long's "Stonehenge," p. 66.

<sup>3</sup> *Wiltshire Magazine*, vol. xvii., p. 159.



PLAN OF STONEHENGE IN ITS PRESENT CONDITION.



and *post-historic*, and it would probably be much affected by frosts.

Following out these discoveries, the bases of other buried stones have since been found by probing the turf with a pointed rod.

But another question arises respecting certain fragments of a very hard dark quartzite with grains of feldspar. Of this material a large piece was found in barrow No. 41 (Hoare's Map), by Mr. H. Cunningham, in 1872, and more recently—July, 1881—seven other splinters of it were dug up *within the temple*. This too, is not a Wiltshire rock, nor is it like any of the stones at present visible, but judging by the analogy of the soft schist, may we not fairly expect that further exploration will discover the parent stone under the turf? The same remark will apply to some three or four other fragments found within the area, which though they have not been fully examined, are evidently foreign to the country, and as yet unknown as Stonehenge materials.

Within the three years to December, 1881, four hundred and sixty fragments of Stonehenge rocks found under the turf, in waggon ruts, or in the barrows, have passed under examination. Many of them have been cut for the microscope.<sup>1</sup>

The following specimens were found in three small holes, on July 8th, 1881 :—

Diabase	39
Felsite	62
Quartzite, with traces of feldspar <sup>2</sup>	8
Sarsen	9
Calciferous chloritic schist	49
Micaceous sandstone (altar stone)	5

<sup>1</sup> We are greatly indebted to Mr. Thomas Davies, of the Government Mineralogical Department, for his kindness in devoting much valuable time to the examination of the specimens mentioned in this paper. They have all passed through his hands, and the descriptions given may be relied upon as accurate.

<sup>2</sup> Similar to the stone found in the Barrow No. 41, (slide S. 1.)

Of these there were in the earth round the—

Stump of the obelisk, No. 57.      Stump of schist stone, No. 28.

	(see map.)				
Diabase	3 <sup>1</sup>	...	...	...	—
Felsite	9 <sup>2</sup>	...	...	...	1
Quartzite (as above)	2	...	...	...	1
Sarsen	3 <sup>3</sup>	...	...	...	—
Calciferous schist (as above)	5	...	...	...	9
Micaceous sandstone	1	...	...	...	2 <sup>4</sup>
	23 <sup>5</sup>				13

A small piece of oolitic freestone, and two specimens closely resembling the *Upper-Green-Sandstone* of Wiltshire have been dug up. One of the latter contains foraminiferous shells, recognised by Professor Rupert Jones as *Textularia globulosa*, (Ehrenberg,) and other microscopic fossils. It is difficult to account for the presence of these three fragments, but they can have no immediate connexion with Stonehenge.

The turf was taken up at about twenty feet within the vallum, to the left of the entrance, but no specimens were discovered, and here the soil was only from four to six inches in depth. Further on in the same direction, and nearer the building, the fragments were more numerous, including eight pieces of various felsites, some of them more laminar in structure than others, three pieces of the soft schist, the same as the stump of the stone found at S. 28 (see map) as mentioned above, p. 142, one of greenish diabase, one of grey diabase (unlike the other specimens), a portion of the rim of an amber-coloured glass cup or vase, described at p. 148, and several flint flakes. In another hole dug close by, to the left, there were found two fragments of

<sup>1</sup> Two varieties of this stone.

<sup>2</sup> With very fresh-looking fractures.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently differing from the sarsens of the temple.

<sup>4</sup> One of these is darker in colour than the altar stone, but this may have been caused by exposure to smoke.

<sup>5</sup> Besides the fragments mentioned at page 145 as having been found in or attached to the concreted mass round the base of the obelisk.



dense felsite with the small regular white specks, one of green diabase, and one of the soft schist.

The concrete-like substance in which the base of the obelisk is imbedded has apparently been produced by ramming into the hollow round the stone when it was erected, a quantity of soft chalk, mixed very freely with small flints (chalk and flint constitute the natural subsoil of Stonehenge), and with numerous fragments of *all* the different kinds of stone of which the building is composed. By the subsequent infiltration of rain-water, chemical compounds have been introduced, which have filled up the interstices, solidifying the whole in the course of ages, into the tough concrete-like mass found round the foot of the obelisk.

This concreted mass contains, irregularly distributed throughout it, certain compounds beside the carbonate of lime (the chalk), of which it mainly consists. "These compounds, though not separable, in a complete and unchanged condition, betray their presence by physical characters, and by the occurrence in the concrete, of alumina and ferric oxide as bases, and by silica and organic acids. Probably rain and other meteoric water charged with oxygen and with carbonic acid (and also with organic acids from the turf and roots) have effected such changes in the silicious rocks and chalk as may now be observed to occur in many chalk-pits where collyrite and allophane are still being formed."<sup>1</sup>

The following are the rocks found in the concreted mass—

Schist	22 specimens (some very minute).
Ditto harder	1 „
Felsite	6 „
Altar-stone	1 „
Diabase	12 „
Dense sarsen	3 „
Saccharoid ditto	1 „

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<sup>1</sup> Professor Church has kindly undertaken the chemical examination of this part of the subject. The result of his qualitative analysis is expressed in the above paragraph, but he hopes some time this year, when his Royal Academy lectures are over, to push on the enquiry, and to furnish a report to the next number of the *Wiltshire Magazine*.

Several artificial flint flakes, some wood ashes, and the tooth of a small ruminant, have also been found.

The fact that specimens of all the varieties of rocks which constitute the inner circle of Stonehenge have been found in the mixed substance at the base of this obelisk proves that they were *all on the spot* when the inner ellipse was erected. Thus it would seem most probable that all the foreign stones were brought together at the same time; disproving the theory that the smaller stones of the temple were damons, or the votive offerings of separate worshippers. (See Mr. Fergusson).

#### SARSENS.

A very small proportion of chippings of sarsen stone has been found in these diggings, or, it may be added, in the immediate neighbourhood of the temple. This is more especially to be remarked, as the *sarsens* constituted, in bulk, as well as in number, by far the larger proportion of the material of the structure. But on this subject our lamented Secretary, the late Mr. E. T. Stevens, very judiciously remarks: "It is not likely that the builders of Stonehenge would have dragged a needlessly bulky or misshapen mass of stone—mile after mile—merely to have the pleasure of dressing it into shape at the end of their laborious journey. Minor details may have been carried out at Stonehenge; but probably the stones were squared *before* they reached Salisbury Plain, and chippings, for the most part, have to be sought elsewhere."<sup>1</sup>

#### ORIGINAL SURFACES.

It has generally been supposed that the stones of the *inner circle* have been placed in position in their unhewn form, without any dressing; but they were probably reduced to suitable heights or otherwise trimmed before using. In no other way would it be easy to account for the large number of chippings which from time to time have been found on the spot; and it will be observed that these chippings are not of a later date than the erection of Stonehenge

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<sup>1</sup> Jottings of the "Stonehenge Excursion," August 24th, 1876.

itself, as is shown by the fact that they were largely used for ramming around the bases of the obelisks.

Most of them have sharp fresh fractures, having been protected by the covering of turf; and a certain proportion of them have on one side a weathered surface, just such as might be expected if the stones had been brought to the spot in their original unhewn condition. The weathering of some of the diabase fragments, especially, is so marked as to lead to the conclusion that they may even have been exposed to the action of the sea-shore. It is more deeply marked than on the surfaces of the stones now standing in the temple, though the storms of so many centuries have passed over them.

We may fairly conclude that these foreign stones, like the Wiltshire sarsens associated with them in the building, were never quarried, but derived from boulders left on the surface, or brought from some rocky shore.

#### ALTAR STONE.

Many small pieces of the altar stone have been found in various places, in and around the building; one occurred in the concreted substance. These are doubtless the chippings which were struck off when it was originally worked into shape. A passage in a letter from Mr. Cunnington, of Heytesbury, to Mr. Britton is interesting in connection with this subject (date, April 12th, 1803). He says: "I have dug two or three times before the altar stone, once to the depth of six feet. At about *three feet deep* I found some Roman and other pottery; at the depth of *six feet* some pieces of sarsen stone, and three pieces of coarse half-burnt British pottery with charred wood. . . . I pledge myself to prove *that the altar stone was worked with tools of some kind.*" Sir R. C. Hoare refers to the digging, but omits all mention of the suggestive facts stated in the paragraph just quoted.

In another letter, dated 1802, he says: "The sides of the altar stone still retain the marks of the tools with which it was originally wrought."

I would here suggest that had the "Altar" stone been subjected to the heat of sacrificial fires, as some authors (and artists) would

lead us to believe, the colour of it would have been permanently altered. On burning a piece of it, found in one of the rabbit holes, in an ordinary fire, the colour changed from the natural greenish grey to a dull light red.

It is satisfactory thus to have gained some facts connected with this mysterious building, which time has left to us without a written history. Geology and petrology have lately joined in the pursuit of the time-hidden truth, and the microscope has been used with some success in this direction, but much remains to be done.

It has been said that *the spade is the key to Stonehenge*. In this instance it has turned through some of the rusty wards of time, but it must be handled with the utmost care and scientific skill amid these venerated remains, now almost in ruin.

The present paper gives proof of what may be done by this means, and we close with the hope that, ere long, opportunity may be afforded for further research.

#### FRAGMENT OF CELT—STONEHENGE.

In August, 1879, Mr. H. Cunnington found, just under the turf, within a few yards from the main entrance of Stonehenge, a fragment of a hatchet-shaped stone implement. It is two-and-a-half inches in length, of a dark reddish colour, and extremely hard. A slice has been cut from it for the microscope, and it is thus shown to be a uraltic diabasic rock, distinctly differing from the diabases composing the obelisks of Stonehenge. It is quite unlike any Wiltshire stone, and must have been obtained from a long distance.

#### GLASS—FOUND AT STONEHENGE.

Among other fragments found within the area, two specimens of ancient glass, probably of the Roman or Romano-British period, deserve notice. Both are good specimens of glass-work—of good quality and skilful workmanship. Of one of them a small piece of the rim is preserved, sufficient, however, to show how exceedingly thin and delicate was its form. It is of a bright amber colour. It would appear to have been a drinking cup or goblet. If so it may have been brought to Stonehenge on the occasion of the visit of

some eminent Roman family. Such a cup is not likely to have belonged to any one not of the higher classes of the people. The mishap of its breakage is not so remarkable, especially as Stonehenge—we have it on good (*Native*) authority—is “a terrible place for breaking glass.” The other fragment is a good specimen of the art. It also appears to have been a goblet, but it is of a bright olive colour, and was ornamented with rows of small knobs of glass, round the prominent parts of the vessel.

#### ROMAN POTTERY AT STONEHENGE.

In the “*Beauties of Wiltshire*,” vol. ii., p. 131, it is stated that “Pottery of Roman manufacture was discovered, after the fall of the large stones in 1797, *in the soil which served for their foundation.*”

This statement having been the cause of some misapprehension, I have been requested to publish the following information.

The late Mr. Cunnington, of Heytesbury, first mentioned the subject to Mr. Britton, but the most important point connected with it seems to have been misunderstood. He consequently addressed a letter to Mr. Britton, in which he explained the matter fully. It is dated Heytesbury, October 22nd, 1801, and is now in my possession. He writes as follows: “I think you should correct the statement respecting the Roman pottery found at Stonehenge. Your paragraph conveys what I never meant it to convey, namely, that the pottery was deposited before the erection of the stones. I conceive it to have been in the earth surrounding the stones, and after the fall of the trilithon the earth containing these fragments would naturally moulder into the hollows, for in this loose earth recently fallen into the cavity, the bits of pottery were found. “This can easily be corrected in your preface to the 3rd vol. of the ‘*Beauties of Wilts.*’”

Mr. Cunnington confirms these facts in a MS. note on p. 131 of my copy of the “*Beauties of Wilts.*”

WILLIAM CUNNINGTON.

Clapham,

January, 1883.

# Diagrams to Illustrate the Effects of the Weather upon the Flowering of Plants.

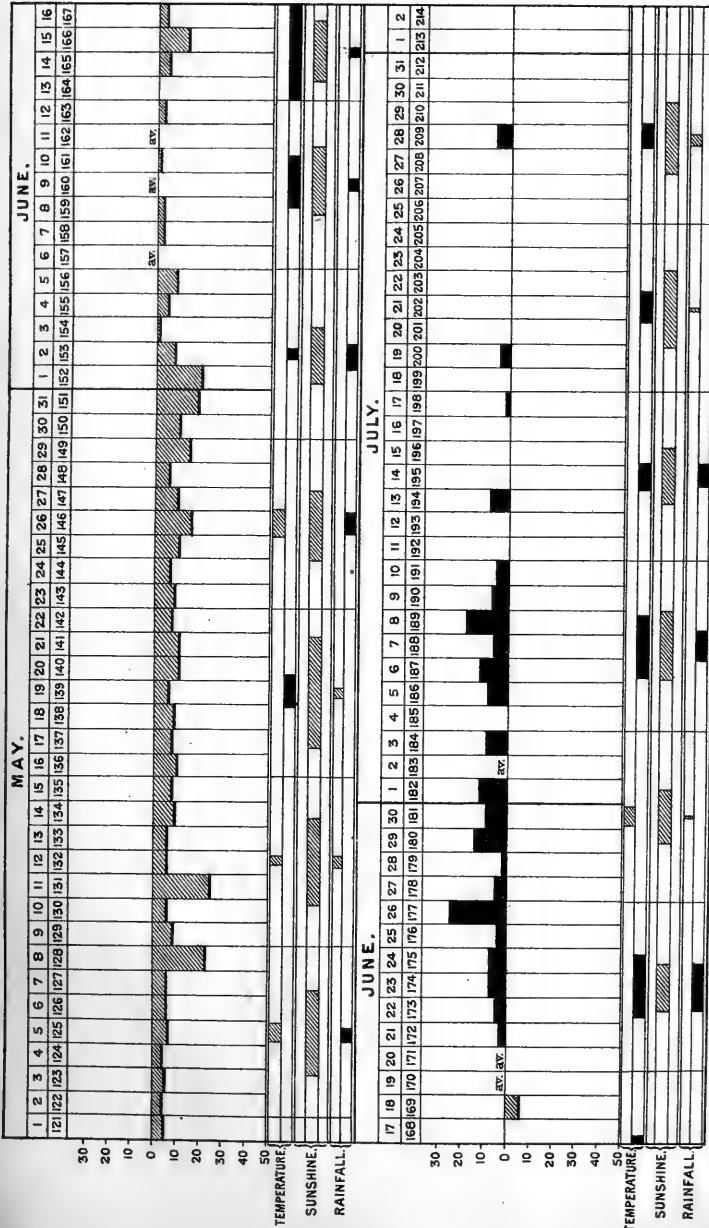
By The Rev. T. A. PRESTON, M.A.

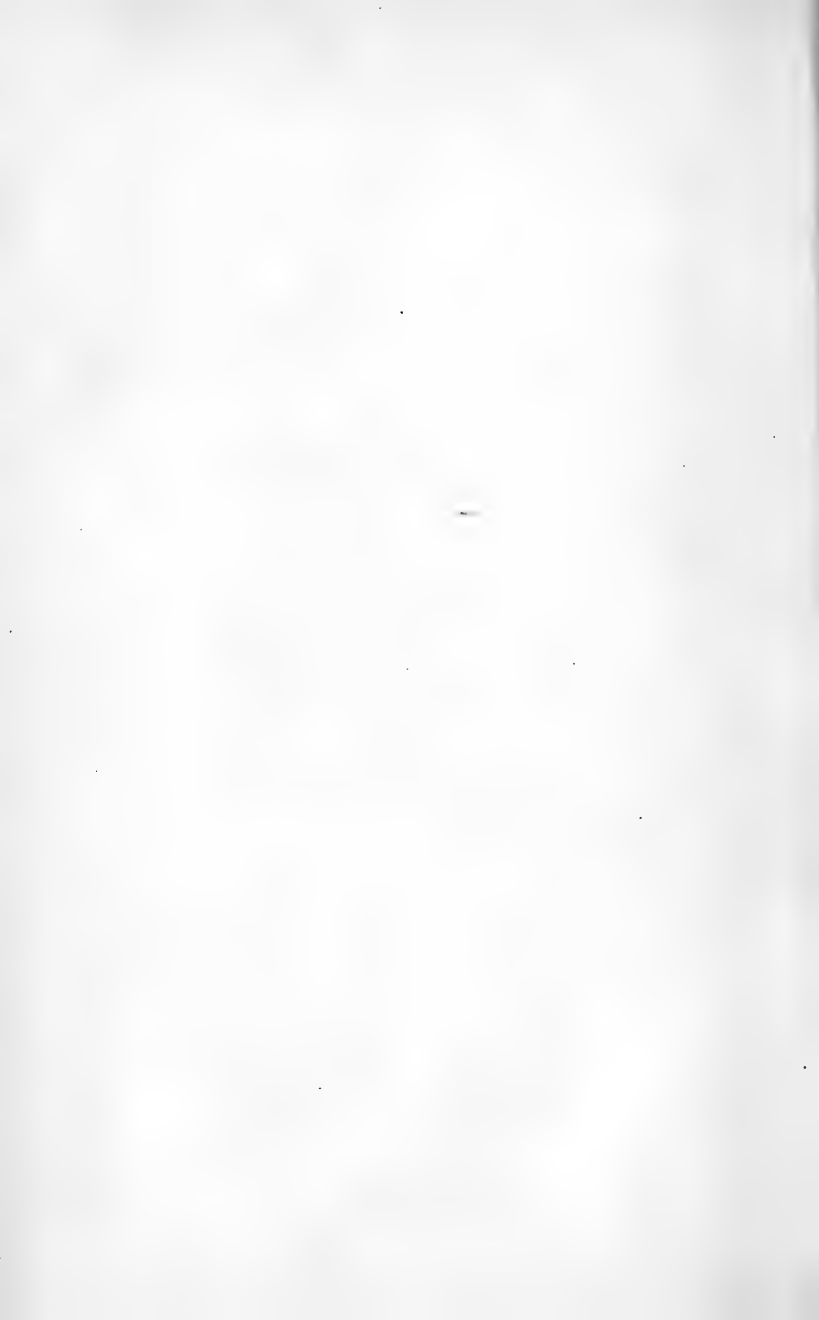
(Read before the Society at Malmesbury, August, 1882.)

**T**HE diagrams, of which that for 1882 is herewith given, are intended to represent graphically the variations of temperature, sunshine and rainfall, and the effects these produce on vegetation. I am not aware of any similar attempt having been made before, for though both in England and on the Continent "phenological observations" have been systematically taken, and averages deduced therefrom, yet nowhere have I seen any of them combined with the actual observations on the weather, except in the case of the Cobham Journals, as worked out by Miss E. A. Ormerod, where, however, no diagram is given, and the later observations have not always been taken with the same care as the earlier ones.

I may claim, therefore, a superiority for these diagrams in two particulars. (1) Though the records have been kept by myself, and thus a uniformity has been preserved both in the manner of registration and the decision as to when a plant is in flower (a very important consideration, as observers are often very different in their opinions as to when a plant may be considered to be in its flowering stage), yet the number of observers who have helped to perfect the tables has been singularly numerous, and a completeness has been secured which would be perfectly unattainable had only one or two observers been working at them. At the same time no limit has been made to the number of flowers observed, and hence no selection has been made beforehand; and thus we have drawn up the tables from what we have *found* to be the best for our purpose, instead of settling beforehand what we *imagined* would be the best. This is a very important consideration, and one for which I

# FLOWERING OF PLANTS, 1882.







claim a very great superiority for our tables over any others that have been made.

(2) The very full details of the weather of every year during which the observations have been taken; these details being taken with verified instruments, and with the exactness required by the Meteorological Society.

Referring now to the diagram, the lines at the bottom are intended to represent the general state of the weather; in the upper (double) one the difference of the temperature of each week from the mean of that week for the previous ten years is indicated by a black line when below it, and a shaded line when above it. Thus if the temperature of any particular week was  $5^{\circ}$  below the mean of the previous ten years a black line of suitable length would be drawn, if above it a shaded one.

The next line indicates the amount of sunshine. As this has not been observed for ten years, the differences from the means cannot be given, but I have indicated the *percentage of the proper amount due*, which is always done by a shaded line, as the *heat* is intended to be shown. Of course the shaded spaces will not indicate the actual number of hours of sunshine, nor the same number of hours (if the shaded lines happen to be of the same length), but merely the *proportion* of sunshine which was experienced in that week. Thus, if in one week we had had fifty out of one hundred hours due, and in another twenty-five out of fifty hours due, these two quantities would be indicated by lines of equal length, as in both cases we had half the quantity due.

The lower (double) line indicates the rainfall, black indicating that the amount was greater than the mean, and shaded that it was less, as the greater the rainfall the greater the amount of chilliness produced in the air.

The general state of the weather during any week can thus be seen at a glance, as well as those elements which are considered to have most effect on vegetation.

The lines at the top merely indicate the date to which each vertical line refers, the upper line giving the day of the month, the lower one that of the year.

The horizontal line in the middle of the diagram is taken as a base line from which the variations from the means in the times of flowering are calculated. If a plant is observed to flower (say) ten days earlier than the calculated date, a shaded line is drawn downwards a certain space, if it is ten days later a black line of the same length is drawn upwards. If several plants have their mean dates of flowering on the same day, the *average* of the differences from the mean is taken to indicate the state of vegetation on that day. Thus if there are four plants whose mean date of flowering occurs on any particular day, and one was observed ten days later, the second five days later, the third two days earlier, and the fourth five days earlier, then  $10+5-2-5=8$ , and as there were four plants observed, 2 days late would be the average indicated in the diagram.

There are certain objections (and no doubt serious ones) to this method of registering, which may be remedied hereafter as the number of years of observations increases. The most serious is that the averages are not taken from an equal number of plants for each day. It may be argued that a single species for each day would give better results; but the objection to this is that a pasture-loving plant may be taken one day, a water-plant another, a wood-plant a third, and so on, and the results would still be very far from the truth. Where all are taken the general state of vegetation is, I conceive, more truly represented.

Another objection, which I hope to correct in time, is that all the plants have not been observed for the same number of years; thus the date for one plant may have been computed from seventeen observations, and another from only fifteen, and so on. This error has been partially obviated by only taking those plants which have been observed not less than fifteen times, except in certain very special cases. Twenty years is by no means too short a time for securing *proper* averages, considering all the errors and omissions which must necessarily occur in such an investigation as the present. Such as it is it can be considered only approximate, and as such I must beg my readers to consider it.

One other remark must be made. Each year was worked out from

the average of the preceding years up to 1865, so that the average is different for each year; thus the diagram for 1880 indicated the differences of the flowering in that year from the means of the previous fifteen years, that for 1881 from those of the previous sixteen years, and that for 1882 (which is given herewith) from those of the previous seventeen years. It must be observed, however, that the variations are generally so slight (from the large number of years already taken) that in most cases they are the same for all three years.

A few words must now be said about each diagram. In that for 1880 it was observed that January was very cold, February and half of March were warm, and then every succeeding week (except the first week in April) more or less cold. On referring to the flowering it was seen that till the middle of March (*i.e.*, as long as the weather continued warm) plants were behind their proper averages, and then for eight or nine weeks were before them, a break of a cold week in the middle of April destroying the uniformity, and after that vegetation was uniformly backward. Thus, as long as the weather continued warm plants were late, and as soon as the weather turned cold plants were early. The evident solution of this apparent paradox is clearly that plants require time to get influenced by the weather, and as far as this diagram showed that period is about five or six weeks.

From the diagram for 1881 it was seen that during the first six months there were only six weeks whose mean temperature was above the average, and those only occurred at scattered intervals; it was also damp till the middle of March, and then singularly dry. As might have been expected plants were almost uniformly late till the beginning of June, and even then they might be considered, as a whole, fairly backward.

A marvellous difference occurred in 1882. Till the end of the first week in February, the weather was cold, but then a warm period set in, lasting till about the end of the first week in April, when the weather began to turn colder, and the temperature of both April and May was hardly above its proper amount. June and July were decidedly cold, but it was not till the middle of June that

plants flowered later than usual, though throughout the month vegetation was but very little in advance of its proper state.

One of the questions which I am anxious to investigate is the connection (if any) between plants, more especially such as may be of assistance to agriculturists. Certain operations are performed when certain occurrences happen; thus it has been said "When mulberries begin to turn red the corn is fit to cut." At present I have not been able to confirm this, or to trace any connection between the two. But another saying is decidedly correct: "When the Timothy grass [*Phleum pratense*] comes out, the hay is fit to cut." The explanation of this is, that this grass is the last of the common grasses to come into flower, and consequently when *it* flowers, all the other grasses are in their prime. I have noted for some years how far this is correct, and though the weather has not always been favourable for haymaking, when it appears, yet no better time could have been selected. The dates for this plant in the three years under consideration were June 19th, June 18th, and June 15th, respectively.

The rainfall was at no time excessive, though from the middle of April (with the exception of a fortnight in May) the weekly amount was in excess of its proper average.

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## The Story of a Prebendal Stall at Sarum.<sup>1</sup>

By the Rev. W. H. RICH JONES, M.A., F.S.A.,

Canon of Sarum and Vicar of Bradford-on-Avon.

**T**HERE are some, it may be, who, when they read the subject of this paper—the "Story of a Salisbury Prebend"—may be inclined to ask—"And what is a Prebend?" And so, I will, on opening my case, as the lawyers say, first of all explain the meaning of the term.

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<sup>1</sup> This paper was read some time since before the Members of the Church Institute, at Trowbridge. It is printed in the belief that it will be of interest, at all events, to a good number of our readers. [ED.]

The word "prebend" means literally a "provision" or a "maintenance"; it is from the Latin verb "*præbeo*" which means to "support." Thus "*præbenda equorum*" in Domesday means the "provision" or "provender" of horses—I suppose hay, and the like. "*Præbenda asinorum*," in like manner, would mean "asses' provender," and might, besides hay, include, I suppose, a handful or two of thistles. In fact our word "*provender*," which comes to us mediately through the French "*provendre*," is our synonym for it; and not only so, but is the same word in an English dress.

Well, then, you will easily see how naturally the term "prebend," from meaning a provision, came to designate the manor or "*estate*" which furnished that provision. In olden days there was very little money stirring—people then had no bankers' accounts, or Three Per Cents in which to invest their savings—their riches consisted in their flocks and herds, and wool, and so forth. A great deal of business was done in the way of barter. Naughty people, when fined for some offence were not let off with "five shillings and costs," but had to pay in kind—a sheep, or so much corn, or other produce. The word "*mulct*" is a traditionary memorial of this; it is derived from a mediæval Latin word "*multo*," which means a *sheep*, and which is of course from the same root as our word "mutton" and the French "*mouton*" (=sheep). So the word "*pecunia*" (=money) is connected with *pecus* (=cattle). And of course, when people wanted food for themselves, or fodder for their cattle, they had to grow it for themselves.

As it fared with the people generally, so it fared with the clergy. Tithes were paid in kind; and more troublesome I fancy they must have been to collect than our "rent-charge in lieu of tithes" now. And as *they*, no less than their parishioners, needed meat and drink for themselves, and for their cattle (when they were able to keep them), certain small portions of land called "*glebes*" were assigned to them, in their various parishes. Of course they needed a certain portion of *arable* land, for their corn—of *pasture*, for their sheep—of *meadow*, for their hay (and this last must, where possible, have been near a stream); and this accounts for the fact that glebe-lands lie so dispersedly, some here and some there. What were called

“capellani annui,” who corresponded (as far as ancient and modern can be compared) with what we now call “assistant curates,” were paid, not in money, but for the most part in kind. Thus the Chaplain of Erlegh, a dependency of Sunning, when called upon to make a return of his income to the Dean of Sarum, in 1225, said that it consisted of four measures (*summæ*) of corn, two measures and a half of fine white wheat, and two and a half measures of barley, besides one mark (=13s. 4d.) in silver, 40 pence of which came from the land of some “*rusticus*”—*i.e.*, I suppose, some rural tenant of a portion of land in the parish.

Well, then, when OSMUND, Bishop of Sarum, wished, towards the close of the eleventh century, to found a Cathedral for his diocese, and to place a body of secular canons in it, he thought it only reasonable to make some provision for them. Hence he set apart a number of small estates—in his time they were, I think, thirty-four, they afterwards became some fifty or more (for two prebends consisted of certain offerings given from time to time at the high altar in the Cathedral)—and these estates, to which the technical name of “*prebends*” was given, formed the endowment of his several canons. He took a far more common-sense view of matters, as it seems to me, than our modern legislators some forty years ago, who thought that an income was quite needless for nine-tenths of the Canons of Sarum at all, and that they ought to be quite content with the “honor and glory of the thing.” I do not *entirely* sympathise with such a view of matters, and should not be sorry, with my bit of “*blue ribbon*,” to have a small “*honorarium*” appended thereunto. However, as the matter stands, the value of our stalls, for all save four or five of our body, may be set down at *nil*. One is almost tempted, when you contemplate the whole of your “*prebend*” as consisting of a seat in the Cathedral choir, and that is all—notwithstanding for that diminutive “*all*” we used, when I was appointed, to pay some £9 in fees—to recall the anecdote of the Irishman, who when placed in a sedan-chair without a bottom remarked blandly—“If it were not for the honor of the thing, I’d as lief have walked.”

I have called the cathedral of Salisbury a cathedral of *secular*

canons. Clergy, in olden times were divided into "Regulars" and "Seculars." The former were those who belonged to monasteries or similar religious houses and were bound by the "*regula*," or "*rule*" of such institutions. The latter were those who lived in the world and much as other people did, and of this class were the canons whom Osmund appointed for his Cathedral. You must dismiss from your mind at once the idea that there was anything of the strictly monastic character about them. They were bound by no religious vows; in fact, if any canon became a "Regular" he ceased at once to be a member of the Cathedral body. They were, of course, bound to observe the "statutes and laudable customs" of the Cathedral, but otherwise they were free; they lived each in their own houses and many of them, such at all events as were in minor orders, were married men. And the provision for their maintenance came from two sources—(1) from their "*prebend*," of which I have already spoken, and (2) from the "*communa*" or "common-fund," arising from certain estates with which the cathedral itself was endowed, and certain offerings and fines, of which each canon shared according to his residence and performance of given duties.

Now without all doubt the idea that lay at the root of a cathedral institution such as you had at Sarum—and that was the normal English type—was that it should be a centre of religious life to the diocese. It was in truth to be a distinctly missionary organization, gathering together as though in one centre all the rays of light and causing them to radiate again throughout the diocese. As it has been well put by that distinguished man, who has, I rejoice to say, been elevated to the primacy of all England, there was a "*centrifugal*" as well as a "*centripetal*" force in cathedrals; they attracted to themselves as to a religious home all the elements of holy worship and life, and then scattered these same elements over all the prebendal parishes which formed the endowments of the several canons of the cathedral.

Of course, as a centre of religious life, the cathedral was to be the model of worship for the diocese. There was to be the PRECENTOR, always in residence, directing its various services; there, too, the

TREASURER, providing the necessary "ornaments" for its elaborate worship. There was also the theological school, with the CHANCELLOR at its head, giving his regular course of lectures, and instructing the younger canons, and others, in divinity. There also was to be the choristers' school, a special canon residentiary being charged with providing for their maintenance and instruction. There was, in short, to be the home, from time to time, of all who were members of the cathedral body. The canons had their specific work to do, and, if they did it, they certainly had little opportunity of dreaming away their time in simply doing dignity. With the Bishop at their head—the mother-church deriving its distinctive name from the "*cathedra*" or "*seat*" of the Bishop—they formed members of one household, each with their well-defined duties, and all banded together by the common worship of the holy and beautiful house, in which day by day, and seven times each day, they met for the worship of Almighty God.

And with this central worship, and education, and preaching of God's Word, was combined the carrying forth as from a fountain-head the streams of spiritual life to the whole diocese, and especially to those parishes which, as "prebends," were connected with the Cathedral. For you must always bear in mind that every canon, in addition to his work in the cathedral, was charged with special duties as regards his "prebend." These prebendal estates or parishes were for the most part, though not wholly, scattered throughout the diocese. On each such estate there was a house of residence with a *familia*, and usually a church, either served by the canon, or by some one appointed by him. In fact he was responsible for the spiritual as well as temporal well-being of the parish, for the appointment of the pastor, the education of the poor, the condition of the labourer. On that prebend he lived, and there also he worked, save at such times as he came to the cathedral for his appointed term of residence; so that each prebend became, in a faithful carrying out of the cathedral system, the centre not only of the civilization but also of the christianizing of each district. To my mind the idea is a beautiful one; it reminds one of the old Priests and Levites, each going up in the order of their course to the Temple at Jerusalem,



and thence returning, each to his own city, there to carry on the same good work of serving God, and leading those also to serve Him who were especially committed to his charge.

Now it is of one of these prebends of Sarum that I want, as far as I can, to tell you the story. The one I select is that of NETHERAVON, to which I was myself collated by my Bishop eleven years ago, no long time after he came into possession of the see. The place is in South Wilts, not far from Amesbury. The Church of Netheravon was given to the cathedral some seven hundred and fifty years ago, by a charter of King Henry I., during the episcopate of Bishop Roger, about the year 1131. At the time of Domesday the whole estate proper belonged to the King, but the Church, with its tithes and glebe-lands, was in the hands of Nigel, described sometimes as "*medicus*," who was the Conqueror's physician. He is in one place spoken of as "*presbyter*." It was not at all an unusual thing for medical men to be in holy orders in those days, and it would be well, I think, if at least all missionary clergymen were instructed in medicine now. At Salisbury we have several instances of physicans holding stalls; and amongst them, as late as the sixteenth century, was the family-doctor of Henry VIII., who must have had rather a difficult patient to deal with, and well earned his medical fees, whether in money or kind. Anyhow, it was a convenient way for kings to pay their doctor's bills, by the appropriation of a few prebends in divers cathedrals for that specific purpose.

The prebend of Netheravon was never a valuable one, and, as I have already intimated, it is still less so now. Nevertheless, profitless as it is materially, it has a history; and what this is I will try and tell you.

Now it is a remarkable fact, that, when people get on in the world, they commonly shew a great interest in their grandfather, and their great-grandfather, and are apt to exalt those same venerable ancestors to a position which to themselves would perhaps have appeared strange. And then they find out what they call the old armorial bearings of the family, though the said great-grandfathers, if they could be appealed to, would perhaps answer as did one who sympathised with Sidney Smith's friends—"For my part I

do not trouble about such things, but generally seal my letters with my *thumb*." Well, after all, it's only a little almost venial vanity, and, if folks do not themselves "get too big for their shoes," there's not much harm in it. But when you speak of your ecclesiastical or spiritual forefathers—and can look back and tell them up one after another, as I can, for more than *six hundred* years—then I think it may be a matter not only of honest pride, but of devout thankfulness. At all events it shows us the continuity of the Church of England; and encourages us to hope, that as the gallant old ship has battled with many a storm already, and still rides the waves triumphantly, so, with God's blessing, and the timely repair of a timber here and there that from very age has become a little decayed, she may still survive all the attacks of open enemies. And after all, her danger arises not so much from the batteries of her foes, as from the mutiny of her crew between the decks.

Of the earliest of my predecessors of whom we have any record—ROGER, and HUGO DE PERTH—I know nothing beyond their names. It has been said "The world knows nothing of its greatest men." This *may* have been the case here—but as I lack all information upon the point, we will pass on to the next name, which is that of one, not only well-known, but famous in the history of our diocese.

This was ROGER DE MORTIVAL, who, after having held the Rectory of Ambrosden, in Oxfordshire, and the Archdeaconries of Huntingdon and Leicester, became Dean of Lincoln in 1310. He was also Chancellor of Oxford in 1293. He was collated to the Prebend of Netheravon in 1297, and, after holding it for eighteen years (for some eight of them together with his deanery at Lincoln) he vacated it, on being consecrated as Bishop of Sarum in 1318. And an earnest-minded and brave bishop he seems to have been. Abuses had already crept into his cathedral church through claims made by successive Popes to appoint to vacant dignities and prebends, and from the number of foreigners, most of them non-resident, who held them. Thus there is a remarkable letter from the Bishop, to Pope John XXII., in which he complains that out of some fifty dignities and prebends in the gift of the Bishop, there were on March 21st, 1325, a dean, an archdeacon, and six prebendaries, who had been

“*provided*” to their stalls by Pope Clement V.; whilst no less than seventeen prebendaries, a treasurer, a precentor, and an archdeacon, had been “*provided*” by Pope John XXII. himself; and more than this—for, bitterest woe of all, there were eight others who were “*expectant*” canons—that is, canons to whom the same Pope, in his fatherly care of the church of Sarum, had granted the right of succession to stalls as they became vacant. A dismal prospect, indeed! for of all the canons so appointed only some *three* were resident. Our Bishop braced himself to the task, arduous as it was, of grappling with these evils. His predecessor, Simon of Ghent, had refused installation to Reymond de la Goth, a cardinal, who had been provided to the deanery by Pope Clement V., on the ground that the chapter of Sarum had the undoubted right of electing their own dean, but had been forced at last to yield to the overpowering influence of Rome. But Bishop Roger de Mortival, though bound to accept the dean, took care that he should perform his duties, and so issued his mandate to him, “cardinal” though he was, to appear before him on a given day, in the chapter-house, to account for his non-residence. In like manner he summoned the Archdeacon of Berks for non-residence, and for perjury! One entry in the Mortival Register has more than once amused me. It is headed “*Indulgentia audientibus prædicationes canonicorum*” (Indulgence to those who listen to the sermons of the canons). I know not whether the “*indulgence*” was necessary because of the heavy oratory of the canons, or the unreasonable length of their discourses. In those days people had to *stand* to hear sermons, just as they do in the Greek Church now, and in no ancient cathedral will you find any original arrangement for seats in the nave. So that the infliction, if such it were, would have to be bravely endured, and could not be palliated, as it is sometimes in these days of ours, by the softening influences of slumber.

On the advancement of ROGER DE MORTIVAL to the see of Sarum—I may mention, by the way, in passing, that to him we owe our statutes—he of course vacated his prebend. This was bestowed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Walter Reynolds, during the vacancy of the see, on GILBERT DE MIDDLETON. He was not unknown in

Wilts; and was, moreover, a predecessor in whom I feel an especial interest. For he was the "*firmarius*" or "Lord Farmer," that is, as we should call him, the "Lessee" of the Church of Bradford under the Abbess of Shaftesbury; and, as such, exercised the privilege of rector by appointing to the vicarage. In 1316 he became Archdeacon of Nottingham, and held the prebendal church of Edington, in Wilts, then connected with the abbey of Romsey. Besides these benefices, he had not a few others; for at one and the same time he held prebends at St. Paul's—Lincoln—at Chichester—at Hereford—at Wells—and at Sarum. I suppose that even in those days—which people will persist in calling the good old times—the line had to be drawn *somewhere*; and so we find that in 1321 our prebendary had a special grant from the King (Edward II.) to this effect—that he should not be disturbed in any of his benefices. I have often thought that we may have been indebted to him, when Prebendal Rector of Bradford, for an important addition to our chancel, and also for the erection of that large and beautiful barn (commonly called Barton Barn), which is so well known to archæologists. Certainly the presumed date of the barn, and of the additions to our chancel, correspond fairly enough with the time when he so ruled among us. Well! with all his preferments, and no pluralities' Acts to interfere with him, he must have had plenty of money to spare, which is more than can be said of some of his successors. And as I really know nothing more about him, I can only hope that he made a good use of it.

I now pass over two names, concerning which I can tell you nothing, and come now to that of one famous, not only in our own diocese, but throughout England. This was WILLIAM OF EDINGTON, so called from the village a few miles from Bradford-on-Avon, of which I have just spoken, and where he would seem to have been born. Educated at Oxford, he became successively Rector of Cottingham and Dallington, in Northamptonshire, and afterwards of Middleton Cheyney, in Oxfordshire. He obtained prebends at Lincoln and Sarum; then he became Dean of Westbury-on-Trym, in Gloucestershire; and, by the patronage of Adam de Orleton, Bishop of Winchester, Rector of Cheriton, in Hants. On the death of the last

named prelate, in 1345, William of Edington succeeded to the see of Winchester, and was made Lord Treasurer. In 1357 he became Lord Chancellor of England, and died in 1366, having some time previously declined the metropolitanical see of Canterbury.

His great work, as far as our diocese was concerned, was the magnificent Church at Edington, which still remains to us though in desolation, and the restoration of which we all so much desire. The building rivals almost any sacred edifice in the county, both in size and beauty of detail. It was by an arrangement with the Abbess of Romsey that he obtained a licence from the Crown in 1351 to found at Edington, in the first instance, a chantry in connexion with Romsey Abbey. Ultimately, however, he converted that foundation into a regular monastery, and built an entirely new monastic church. His fraternity were of the order of S. Augustine, but of a particular class called "Boni Homines" or "Bonhommes." There were never more than two houses of this order in England; the second was at Ashridge, in Bucks.

I have no time to do more than give a slight sketch of my predecessors. In truth in this case it is hardly necessary, for the history of William of Edington, as Bishop of Winchester (1346—67), forms part of the ecclesiastical history of England.

We pass over now pretty well a hundred years, till we come to a name—that of ROBERT AISCOUGH—which is of very frequent occurrence. There seem, in truth, to have been two of the same name who were contemporaries, *one* holding in succession the prebends of Warminster, Bishopston, and N. Alton, and being also Canon of St. Paul's and Archdeacon of Colchester; *the other* holding successively the prebends of Netheravon, Farringdon, S. Grantham, and Chute, and becoming Archdeacon of Dorset. I really know little or nothing about the two archdeacons. They terribly puzzled me in working out the history of the cathedral body—I hardly knew "which was which." They were name-sakes of the Bishop of Sarum, and very probably a hopeful pair of nephews, upon whom a benevolent and episcopal uncle, no doubt discerning their merits, was not sparing of promotion. It used to be said that the name of a bishop lingered for at least three generations in a diocese, in the

persons of his kinsmen. I hope we have changed all, or most of that; perhaps I might say, it has been changed for us. For myself I confess that in all promotion that is in the hands of a corporation sole—whether bishop, dean, canon, archdeacon, rector, or vicar—I should still like a controlling power vested in the hands of a body of responsible advisers. For, after all, the best of men are but men at the best, even when exercising a trust in which the interests of many have to be considered.

We pass on now to another holder of the prebend of Netheravon. This was "THOMAS ROTHERHAM *alias* SCOTT." Our witty prebendary, Thomas Fuller, in speaking of a bishop of Sarum who had *two* names, remarks that "*bi-nominous* prelates" were commonly impairers of their churches. This was undoubtedly true of Bishop Salcot *alias* Capon, of whom he was then writing, for his immediate successor, John Jewel, in mourning over the diminished revenues of his see, said playfully, "Verily a *capon* hath devoured all." However *my* "*binominous*" predecessor was a distinguished man, and a benefactor of the church. One of the original fellows of King's College, Cambridge, he subsequently became Rector of Ripple, in Kent, and Provost of Wingham. He subsequently became chaplain to Edward IV., Provost of Bromley, Bishop of Rochester (in 1463) and three years afterwards Bishop of Lincoln. In 1473 he became Lord Chancellor; and in 1480 he was advanced to the metropolitanical see of York. He was one of the executors of Edward IV. He was a munificent friend of Lincoln College, Oxford, adding no less than five fellowships to the same. Of course in the Lives of Chancellors, as well as in those of Archbishops of York, much will be found respecting THOMAS ROTHERHAM *alias* SCOTT.

Well, then, we have some six or seven worthy prebendaries, some of whom held high office in the cathedral, of whom I know little more than their names. One of them was LAURENCE COCKS, who is described as a "Doctor of Decrees." All that I can tell you about him is, that he acted as professional adviser, I suppose I might say as "Chancellor," or at all events as "Assessor," to Bishop Langton, on the occasion of certain Lollards, or followers of Wycliffe, being summoned before him at New Windsor, in 1490, and sanctioning

the enjoying of penance on them as presumed offenders against ecclesiastical order and discipline.

But now we come to one of my predecessors of whom I confess I do not feel very proud; though, gauging him by the world's rule, of always "taking care of *Number One*," he must have been a clever fellow. Old Thomas Fuller mentions, among proverbs peculiar to the county of Berks, this one—"The Vicar of Bray will be Vicar of Bray still." And he gives us this illustration:—"The vivacious Vicar of Bray, (a parish close by Maidenhead, and at no great distance from Windsor,) living under Henry VIII., Edward VI., Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, was first a Papist, then a Protestant, then Papist again, then Protestant again. He found the martyr's fire, near Windsor, too hot for his temper, and being taxed for a turn-coat—'Not so,' said he, 'for I always kept to one principle, to live and dye the Vicar of Bray.'"

Now this famous vicar held the Prebend of Netheravon for some seventeen years, during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. He seems to have been, if I may coin a word, *trinominous*, for he is known, if I be not in error, as Simon *Symonds*, alias Simon *Aleyn*, alias Simon *Pendleton*, a convenient plan, it may be, in troublous times, when it *might* be useful to set up a plea of mistaken identity. No doubt there is *some* truth in the story, though, like many other tales, it has lost nothing in the telling. My worldly-wise predecessor died in the reign of Edward VI., so that as regards *all* its details the story cannot be true. He was appointed Canon of Windsor in 1535, on the deprivation of Miles Willen—so no doubt he swallowed the oath of supremacy, and kept, not only his vicarage at Bray, but got a good canonry besides. Perhaps, after all, people have been a little hard upon Simon Symonds, who, to say the least, was no "simple" Symon. He had before him the example of his bi-nominous bishop, John Salcot *alias* Capon, who did keep his see, whilst he pocketed his conscience, during portions of all four reigns. No doubt, like many others, he tried—and in his own case not unsuccessfully—to keep his weather-legs, whilst the vessel of the church was tossing in the storm of the Reformation.

And now we come, happily, to a name that needs no apology. I

well recollect, that, after the ceremony of my installation was over, the chief verger came to me, and asked politely for the customary fees due to him. I paid them; upon which he made a low bow, and said, "We congratulate you, Sir, on your appointment to the stall of RICHARD HOOKER." When I named this afterwards to a friend, I was told that my immediate predecessor was congratulated in like manner, and was so delighted that he offered spontaneously an additional half-sovereign in fees. I am afraid that I was not quite so amenable to compliments; but I assure you that I always feel an honest pride in thinking of myself as a successor of so good and learned a man, and hoping that a small portion of his mantle may have fallen on my shoulders.

Of course you all know that beautiful and life-like sketch, that is given to us by Isaac Walton, of RICHARD HOOKER; one or two matters, however, not brought into prominence in that biography, may be of interest to you.

Among the Royal Commissioners, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, for visiting cathedrals and churches in the West of England, was John Jewel, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury. In the course of their enquiries they went to Exeter, where then lived the family of Hooker. It soon became known that Jewel took a kindly interest in promoting the advancement of poor, yet worthy, scholars. Soon after his consecration, an application was made to him in behalf of Richard Hooker, a lad who had shewn more than ordinary ability. The good bishop helped him materially, not only enabling him, at the early age of 14, to enter Corpus Christi College, Oxford, but supplying him also with a pension, which, added to the small means furnished by his family, enabled him to prosecute his studies, and to lay the foundation of his future renown.

Bishop Jewel died before Richard Hooker was of age for ordination. He found a friend, however, in Archbishop Whitgift, who, during a vacancy in the see, collated him to the sub-deanery, and also to the stall of Netheravon. A private patron about the same time appointed him to the Vicarage of Boscomb, in South Wilts, and it was *there* that a considerable portion of his great work on the Ecclesiastical Polity of the Church of England was written. The insight of the



Archbishop in selecting Richard Hooker for promotion was the means of raising up the most efficient instrument to contend against the special difficulties and dangers that at that time beset the church of England. Indeed Jewel and Hooker were perhaps the two most powerful "apologists" that she ever had. The latter, indeed, speaks of his early friend and benefactor, Bishop Jewel, as "the worthiest divine that Christendom hath had for some hundreds of years."

Nor do we quite complete the list of defenders of the Church of England who have held the stall of Netheravon, with Richard Hooker. Within some thirty years after him we meet with the name of ROBERT PEARSON, who became Archdeacon of Suffolk; and then in some twelve years more his illustrious son JOHN PEARSON, who became Bishop of Chester, the author of the "Exposition of the Creed," one of the grandest vindications of christian truth ever published.

But I must hasten on; for there are yet a few of my predecessors of whom I should just like to make a passing notice. The first of them was THOMAS WARD, a namesake, and a nephew of the bishop. And a hopeful nephew he must have been, for I chanced one day upon a letter, among the Tanner MSS. at Oxford, in which Bishop Seth Ward thanks His Grace, the Archbishop of Canterbury, for a dispensation, granted at his own request, for the said nephew to be ordained deacon and priest in one day. Just one month afterwards his benevolent uncle collated him to the stall of Netheravon. Within two years he exchanged that stall, which was a *poor* one, for that of "Gillingham," which—as Thomas Fuller, who held it, testifies—was by no means the worst in the Cathedral, and the next year he got that of Teynton, which was the "*golden prebend*" of Sarum. Five years afterwards he was also safely landed in the Archdeaconry of Wilts. Of his acts and doings for the Church I can tell you nothing—and the probability is that he did nothing. He was well appreciated by his episcopal uncle, but I fear by none besides. In truth the appointment led to a serious quarrel between the bishop and the dean—the latter of whom, by the way, had been refused a prebend for his son—which so worried the bishop, that at last his poor Lordship went crazy.

The successor of Archdeacon Ward bore, indeed, an honoured name, ISAAC WALTON—not, of course, our old friend “Piscator”—who was not in holy orders, but his son. He held at one time the Vicarage of Boscomb, once the home of Richard Hooker, and afterwards was appointed by Bishop Seth Ward to the Rectory of Poulshot. In due time he became a canon residentiary, and there are several volumes in the Muniment Room which well attest the diligence with which he arranged and indexed the various registers, and other documents, belonging to the dean and chapter. But the main interest that attaches to his name is of another character. The good Bishop Ken, who, for conscience-sake suffered himself to be deprived of his see of Bath and Wells, was his uncle—his mother having been the sister of the bishop—and it was in the quiet parsonage at Poulshot, as well, possibly, in the residence-house at Salisbury, that no less than at Longleat, Bishop Ken often found a peaceful shelter. We can well picture him at his nephew’s, often singing a verse or two of one or other of those hymns, which now for two hundred years have been the heritage of the christian world. And who would not fain sing in spirit, with that uncle and nephew, the verse in which he so beautifully describes the true lowliness of a holy man, raised by a consciousness of coming glory to strivings to glorify God:—

“Give me a place at some saint’s feet,  
Or some fallen angel’s vacant seat,  
I’ll try to sing as loud as they  
Who dwell in realms of brighter day.”

Of those who have held the stall of Netheravon for the last two hundred years I have little time to speak. Amongst them have been WILLIAM COXE, Archdeacon of Wilts and Rector of Bemerton (the home of George Herbert), who was the cotemporary and friend of the poet Bowles; and LISCOMBE CLARK, Archdeacon of Sarum and Treasurer of the cathedral; and FRANCIS LEAB, who ultimately became dean; and JOHN WATTS, my immediate predecessor, a true, simple-hearted christian, always “active in good works,” Good men they were, though perhaps not among those whom the world

would call famous; still doing their work for God humbly and quietly; and witnesses, that even in a generation when love was cold, and when what religion there was seemed but a dull and spiritless formalism, there was still a remnant in whom "the salt had not quite lost his savour."

And now I have told you my story. My special object has been to put before you what was the true ideal of a cathedral, and to show you, in the history of one out of some fifty-two prebendal stalls, some illustration of its practical working. That any cathedral ever really attained the high ideal which was before the mind of its founders is too much to assert—in all things human there are defects, and our cathedrals were not exempt from them—still, when I can point to so illustrious a band of spiritual ancestors, as Bishop ROGER DE MORTIVAL, the framer of our statutes and the brave defender of the rights of his see—and WILLIAM DE EDINGDON, the builder of that beautiful Church, but a few miles from my own home—and THOMAS ROTHERHAM, the trusted friend and executor of Edward IV.—and RICHARD HOOKER, the learned defender of the policy of our church against Geneva—and JOHN PEARSON, the able exponent of its catholic doctrine against the Deist and the Socinian—and remember also that this same church of Sarum reckoned first of all among its canons and then as its bishop—JOHN JEWEL—its great apologist against Rome—I may be pardoned in expressing a regret that it was not deemed possible, some forty-five years ago, to remedy acknowledged abuses, without the wholesale confiscation of all our prebends.

Happily there has been within the last few years a revival of real interest in our cathedrals. At the present moment a Commission is sitting, with the view of considering how best they may be adapted to the wants of our day. The accession to the primacy of a prelate, than whom no one is more intimately acquainted with their purpose and their workings, may well give us good heart in believing that recommendations will no longer, as was formerly the case, be made hastily or without a full knowledge of the whole matter. And so we will hope, that a real and useful work of reformation will be carried out. We who have travelled the greater part of life's journey may not be spared to see it. Still we will trust

that our children will once again recognize the cathedral as a really necessary part of the church's system, as "a city set on a hill," whither "the tribes may go up," as to Jerusalem of old, to offer their united prayers and praises, and to bring from it, as from a fountain-head, streams of blessings to the various parishes in which their lot may be cast.

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## A Contribution to the History of Sir William Waller (A. D. 1597—1644) and Malmesbury (A. D. 1643—1644).

By W. W. RAVENHILL, Esq.,

Recorder of Andover.

[Read before the Society at Malmesbury, August 2nd, 1882.]

**T**IME is the great healer of wounds, and I may venture to-day (1882) to mention Sir William Waller's name at Malmesbury.

He was one of the foremost men in the wars of the King and Commons, particularly during the early years of the struggle. He was held in very high esteem by his own party, for he was a scholar and a soldier, who had taken vast pains to educate himself for the battle of life. Few careers, however, present greater contrasts—a series of triumphs and defeats—rapid startling successes clouded by heavy reverses, which it is difficult to account for.

Yet throughout all we see in him the well-bred courteous English gentleman of strong religious feelings and liberal tendencies; worthy of record, though one of his troopers may have knocked off the nose of your statue of King Athelstan, and he of his own wilful will

may have ordered to the melting-pot—*pro bono publico*—Westport Church bells, once the pride of Malmesbury.

Waller was born A.D. 1597, at Knole, in Kent, possibly under the famous roof-tree of the Sackvilles, whose mansion is embellished by the art, if not the architecture, of four centuries. His father, Sir Thomas Waller, Knt., was Constable of Dover Castle. He was also Chief Butler of England, an office which conferred on his family hereditary rights to certain wine duties. His mother was daughter of Sampson Lennard, Lord Dacre. There appears to be no account extant of how, and where, and by whom, his early education was effected. At the age of 15 years (A.D. 1612) he went to reside at Magdalen Hall, Oxford, which then stood close to Magdalen College. This he soon left for Hart Hall, whither Magdalen Hall (now Hertford College) was in after days removed, and there completed his university course.

“Afterwards,” says Wood,<sup>1</sup> “he went to Paris and learnt to fence and manage the great horse. Thence he went to the German Wars, where he served in the army of the Confederate Princes against the Emperor.”

Previously, as we learn from Waller’s own “Recollections,”<sup>2</sup> he had been engaged in the campaign of the Venetians against the Archduke (afterwards Emperor) Ferdinand, and was slightly wounded at the siege of Rubia, his foot having been grazed by a ball. During the same siege he had another narrow escape, when a cannon shot passed between him and Sir John Vere.

The first act of the dismal tragedy of the Thirty Years’ War has an undying interest for Englishmen. The acceptance of the crown of Bohemia in 1619 by the Elector Frederick and his fair young consort—the beloved and lovely Elizabeth, daughter of King James the First, and Princess Royal of Great Britain and Ireland, “The Queen of Hearts,” “The Pearl of Britain,” the goddess of the day—followed, after a little more than a year’s sovereignty, by the terrible

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<sup>1</sup> See Wood’s “Athenæ,” vol. iii., p. 814, from which most of the above particulars are taken.

<sup>2</sup> Published with the “Poems of Anna Matilda,” London, A.D. 1788. The original MS. is, I believe, at Wadham College, Oxford.

defeat and flight from Prague, A.D. 1620, can never be forgotten here, and has been a favorite theme for authors of many countries.

There no doubt young Waller was, fascinated by the cause, if not by the Princess, and there, too, I think he must have made the friendship of Sir Ralph Hopton, one of her most devoted friends. At the defeat of the White Mountain, near Prague, during the charge of a regiment of Cossacks, Waller's horse was shot under him. On they came, death seemed inevitable, as the animal was partly on him and his foot was entangled in the stirrup; but they passed over him, and he rejoined his friends without having received any serious injury.

For these, and it may be other, services, Waller was knighted by King James on his return to England, A.D. 1622, at Wanstead, one of Queen Elizabeth's hunting lodges, in Epping Forest.

Soon after he married Jane, daughter and sole heiress of Sir Richard Reynell,<sup>1</sup> of Ford, Dorset, by whom he had an only daughter, Margaret, who became the wife of Sir William Courtenay, of Powderham Castle, ancestor of the Earls of Devon. Little did the bridegroom think when he and his bride dwelt 'neath Lansdown Hill of the shadows coming to him on that very spot before many years had elapsed. Lady Waller died at Bath, 1633,<sup>2</sup> and was buried in the south transept of the Abbey Church there. Her monument, in which her husband is joined, may still be seen, bearing this epitaph:

"To the deare memory of the right vertuous and worthy Lady Jane, Lady Waller, sole daughter and heir to Sir Richard Reynell, wife to Sir William Waller, knight.

"Sole issue of a matchless paire,  
Both of their state and vertues heyre;  
In graces great, in stature small,  
As full of spirit as voyd of gall;  
Cheerfully brave, bounteously close,  
Holy without vainglorious showes;  
Happy and yet from envy free,  
Learn'd without pride, witty yet wise,  
Reader this riddle read with mee,  
Here the good Lady Waller lyes."

<sup>1</sup> This name not to be confounded with the Rosewells of Ford Abbey.

<sup>2</sup> In his "Recollections" he says their eldest child was born seven years after their marriage.

Whether these lines were written by Sir William Waller himself I know not, but certainly they contain his notion of an English lady.

Several years subsequently<sup>1</sup> he married his second wife, the Lady Anne Finch, daughter to the first Earl of Winchelsea, who gave him one son to bear his own name, and a daughter Anne.

Later in life (his second wife having died) Sir William Waller married thirdly the widow of Sir Simon Harcourt, and daughter of William, Lord Paget. Lady Harcourt's son, Philip, by her first marriage (afterwards Sir Philip Harcourt) married Sir William Waller's daughter, Anne, and Sir William Waller thus became an ancestor of the Earls of Harcourt, as he had by his eldest daughter already become an ancestor of the Earls of Devon.

But to return. As the Civil War approached Waller showed himself on the side of the Commons. Lord Clarendon attributes his animosity to the Court to a quarrel he had with a relation of the first Lady Waller, who was a personal attendant on the king. "These two gentleman," he says, "discoursing with some warmth together, Sir William received such provocation from the other, that he struck him a blow over the face, so near the gate of Westminster Hall, that he (the other) got witnesses to swear that it was in the hall itself, the courts being then sitting; which, according to the rigour of the law, makes it very penal; and the credit the other had in the court made the prosecution to be very severe: insomuch as he was at last compelled to redeem himself at a dear ransom; the benefit whereof was conferred on his adversary, which made the sense of it more grievous." The value of Lord Clarendon's literary portraits is well known, but we notice that as a true party man he does not mention Sir William's education and his strong opinions, liberal for those times, imbibed at home and abroad.

A.D. 1641. Both parties became red hot, where they did not

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<sup>1</sup> See introductory memoir to Waller's "Vindication." In his "Recollections" he details what he considered a miraculous escape of Lady Anne and himself. They were in their coach-and-four being driven to Yorkshire. The horses plunging overpowered the coachman, and the reins got out of his hands. The horses then dashed off, but in a short distance were stopped by one of them treading on the reins.

muster and arm, but waited to see whether the tongue and pen could not prevent the drawing of the sword. The members of the House of Commons (Long Parliament, elected October, 1640), at least those who remained at Westminster, went about their daily work. Sir William Waller was not amongst them.

A vacancy for Andover was reported, as Sir Henry Ransford had died. Writ issued and returned; and on "Die veneris, ult April 1641," we find the following on the Commons journals:—

"Andover Election. Ordered that the petition of Sir William Waller preferred to this house concerning the election of a Burgess for the Town of Andover be referred to ye consideration of the Committee for Sir Lewis Dives."

This was the day after the House of Lords had consented to Strafford's execution.

A momentous year passed and then another entry on the journals:—

"Andover Election. Die Martis 30 Maii 1642. Sir H. Herbert reports the state of the election for Andover. 'There are in the town 24 Burgesses that have right of election. That only 18 appeared, and that 9 were for Mr. Vernon and 9 for Sir William Waller. That the Bailiff who challenged a casting voice gave his voice to Mr. Vernon and returned him. That there was one Mr. Bourne who was elected (Burgess), but not sworn, that was there at the door, but could not be admitted during the time of election. The election being done, he came to the Bailiff and said that he was there to give his vote to Sir John Waller. The Bailiff answered him that he had no voice there, being only elected a Burgess and not *sworn*. There were two other Burgesses Wm. Barwick and another, that were at the Town Hall before the election began, but they were all generally put out, as not being sworn. But they came not to give their voice during the time of election, as the other did, but after the election ended then they said that they were come to give their voices to Mr. Vernon.'

"Resolved upon the question 'That Mr. Vernon's election to serve as a Burgess in this Parliament for the Town of Andover is void.'

"The question being proposed 'Whether Sir William Waller's election be good

The House divided  
The Yeas went forth

Sir Philip Stapleton (Borough Bridge)	} Tellers for the Yea	107
Mr. John Moore (Liverpool)		
Mr. E. Kirton (Milborne Port)	} Tellers for the No	102
Sir Edward Alford (Arundel)		
		Majority 5



Resolved upon the question 'That the election of Sir William Waller for a Burgess for the Town of Andover is a good election, and that the Bailiff of the said Town do at the Bar mend the return.'"

"Die Jovis, 12<sup>o</sup> Maii 1642.

"Andover return amended by the Bailiff of Andover, who had formerly returned Mr. Vernon to serve for Andover, whose Election is since judged void, was by order summoned to appear here with the Clerk of the Crown to amend the Indenture of return, and did at the Bar amend it accordingly, and made it for Sir William Waller."

So the Court or Government party were defeated by a small majority. We should like to have a report of the debate that preceded it, which must have been somewhat interesting, if it touched on the laws and customs of elections. We may gather that no slight efforts were made to keep out such an avowed enemy of the Court as Sir William Waller. They failed, and then we see the long visage of the Bailiff of Andover at the Bar of the House, and note that his hand appeared fit for the furnace, as he grasped the pen on that memorable occasion. What effect this division had on the rising storm is not clear, but it may have hurried the passing of the ordinance for calling out the militia, which took place two days later.

On the 4th July, 1642, Waller was appointed by the Commons to be one of the Committee of Public Safety, which consisted of five peers—Earls Northumberland, Essex, Pembroke, and Holland, and Lord Saye and Sele; and ten Commoners—Pym, Hampden, Holles, Martyn, Fiennes, Pierpoint, Glyn, Sir William Waller, Sir Philip Stapleton, and Sir John Meyrick.

His first military commission for the Parliament was that of Colonel of the 15th Troop of Horse. "He was," it is said, "much trusted by Commons." "He was known," says Whitelocke, "to be a man of such honour and courage; this silenced those envious against him, and made the better way for recruiting for him."<sup>1</sup> He divided popularity with Lord Essex, his Commander-in-Chief, in times before proper discipline, drill, and arms had been discovered by either of them.

At the battle of Edge Hill his horse once more was shot under

<sup>1</sup> See a letter from Pym to him, which shows that great man's respect for him, given in Warburton's "History of Prince Rupert and the Cavaliers."

him, and he had the mortification to see his major, Sir Faithful Fortescue, an Irishman, desert to Prince Rupert, carrying with him many troopers, raised at the expense of Parliament.

Early in December, 1642, Waller was sent into Sussex by Lord Essex with a moderate force, and about the middle of that month he appeared before Chichester. On the 21st a regular siege of the town was commenced, and it surrendered to him eight days afterwards. A goodly number of prisoners fell into his hands, including Dr. King, Bishop of Chichester, the High Sheriff of the county, Mr. Lewkner the Recorder, Chillingworth the Divine, and many other notables. The number of officers taken is accounted for by the fact that, though they had their commissions from the King, they had not as yet been able to enlist their full complement of soldiers. The inhabitants of Chichester offered a month's pay to Waller's men in lieu of being given over to plunder. This was accepted.

On the 8th January, 1643, the House of Commons ordered "that thanks should be given in all Churches and Chappels in London, Westminster, and Middlesex, for the victories in Sussex."

Malmesbury had been taken possession of by the Royalists in the autumn of 1642, and the defences had been to some extent strengthened and a garrison of horse and foot placed there. At the beginning of March, 1643, Sir William Waller, who had previously gone to Bristol, determined to attack it, and commenced making preparations for that purpose.

The news spread, as we gather from the following letter<sup>1</sup> to Prince Rupert from Captain John Hines, commanding at the neighbouring town of Cirencester:—

"May it please yr Highness, having received this inclosed from the governor of Malmesbury about 3 of the clocke this morninge I thought fitt in duty to acquaint your Highness with this intelligence, and I humbly beseech your Highness to take the strenth of our garison into cōsideracon which standeth thus: Collonell Irvine's Regiment consisting of about 400 men whereof not 200 arm'd, Collonell Bamphield's 120, not sixty of them Armed, Collo. Cocke some 25 or 26 souldiers and as many officers, And the Armes that I received from

<sup>1</sup> Hine's original letter is in the possession of Dr. Jennings, of Abbey House, Malmesbury, by whose kind permission I am able to give it; as also a second, which will be found below.

Prince Maurice is but 40 muskets and 26 pickes, neither can I receive any from my Lord Chandoyes as notwithstanding your Highness letter and other invitations soe that the enemy beinge stirring this way my request to your Highness is that you would be pleased to send some Regiment that is armed, and I doubt not wee shal be able to withstand any opposition they shall dare to make, soe with my humble service to your Highness I rest your Highness servant to comande, JOHNES, Cirencester, March 17th, 1642" [1643 present reckoning].

On the 19th of March Sir William Waller, says Rushworth,<sup>1</sup> "having raised a competent force" [Clarendon says "a light party of dragoons and horse"], advanced from Bristol to Malmesbury, where a Colonel "Herbert Lunsford, a stout gentleman, and a good soldier (brother to Sir Thomas Lunsford, that was taken at Edgehill) was governor; who sent out some troops to encounter him, but they being beat back, Waller assaulted the town, but not prevailing, he prepared next morning for another and more fierce attack: but they within, conceiving the place not tenable, desired a parley, and yielded upon quarter; Colonel Lunsford, Colonel Cook, some other officers, and near 300 common soldiers [Clarendon '6 or 7 score'], being made prisoners; and one piece of ordnance and some ammunition taken."

But it is time to give Waller's own account of it, in his graphic despatch to the Earl of Essex<sup>2</sup>:—

"A letter from Sir William Waller a member of the House of Commons to the Right Honorable Robert Earl of Essex his Excellencie.

"My most honored Lord

"I have had the honour to receive two letters from your Excellency This met me at Malmesbury, where I was engaged in a hot service for so long as it lasted. I sate down before the place yesterday a little after Noon: At my first coming their horse showed themselves in a bravado under the side of a wood, about a quarter of a mile from the town, but upon the first proffer of a charge they retired hastily towards Cicester-way before we could come up to them; whereupon we fell to worke with the towne, which is the strongest inland situation that I ever saw; In the skirts of the outer Town there were gardens walled in with dry stone wall, from whence the enemy played upon us as we came on, but within half an hour we beat them out of these strengths, and entered the outer or lower town with our horse and foot and kept possession of it, the enemy withdrawing into the upper where they had bin at coste to fortifie, we fell on upon the West

<sup>1</sup> Pt. III., vol. ii., p. 263.

<sup>2</sup> This is from the printed copy in the "King's Pamphlets," vol. xcix. Strange to say it is not in Rushworth, though published by command of the House of Commons.

Port, in which they had cast up a breastwork and planted a piece of ordnance. The streets so narrow at the upper end next the work, that not above four could march in breast; this businesse cost hot water: as we fell on we advanced two Drakes and under that favour our musqueteers possessed themselves of some houses near the Port, from whence we galled the enemy very much: If our men had then come out soundly we had then caryed it; but the falling of some cooled the rest; And so the first assault failed after a fight of neer half an hour. Whilst we were preparing to renew the assault the enemy showed himself neer the Town with seaven or (as some say) ten troops of horse; wherenpon Sir Arthur Hazelrig fell out upon them with eight troops, but upon his approach they retired speedily. In the meantime before his return that night, we gave on again upon the Town, and had a very hot fight, which after an hours continuance at the least we were fain to give over for want of ammunition, the main part whereof was unluckily stayed behind by a mischance of the carriage, and could not come up till the next morning; I was in such want of powder, and especially ball; that if the enemy had fallen out upon me, I could have maintained a very small fight, and I had no notice thereof from the officer, until I was reduced to this straight; whereupon I thought fit to draw off the Drakes that night, or rather morning for it was neer two of the clock; The better to effect this, and to prevent the hazard of the enemies' sally, I caused all the Drums to beat and trumpets to sound, drawing both horse and foot out into the streets; As in preparation to an Assault with all the strength I had; which gave the enemy such apprehension, that immediately they sent out a Drum, and craved a parley. They yielded upon quarter, and gave the entrance about seven or eight of the clocke that morning. They were about three hundred foot, and a troop of horse, but the horse I related formerly shifted for themselves upon our first coming. We have prisoners Colonel Herbert Lunceford, Colonel Cook, Lieutenant Colonel Dabridgecourt, Serjeant Major Finch six Captains, six Lieutenants, six Ensignes, one cornet, and four Quartermasters besides, ordinary soldiers, part whereof we mean to send to Gloucester, the rest to Bristoll.

"This morning, in the name of God I propose to march to Cicester, where there are seven hundred Foot and three hundred Horse and Dragoones.

"I must not omit to represent, Major Burghell's merit to your Excellencie who on the 19 of this present having information at Bath, that there was a party of two hundred and forty Horse Plundering Sir Edward Hungerford's house; drew out a hundred Horse and marched thither but finding they were gone from thence, and quartered at Sherston a place about three myles from Malmesbury; he pursued them thither and about twelve of the clock that night, falling into their quarters routed them took twenty five prisoners; whereof there was one Captain Two Lieutenants, and one Quartermaster, six or eight slain upon the place, and three dead since, between forty and fifty horses taken with some Arms, without the losse or hurt of any one man of our own. I shall upon all occasions certainly advertise your Excellencie of what passeth here; I commit your Excellencie to God's heavenly protection, and rest

" My Lord

" Your Excellencie's devoted humble servant

" WILLIAM WALLER

" Malmesbury

23 Martii 1642" (1643)

The superscription is :—

“A Letter from Sir William Waller to R<sup>t</sup> Hon<sup>ble</sup> Robert Earl of Essex of a great victory he obtained at Malmesbury 23 Martii in the County of Wilts.”

And at the end of it :—

“Ordered by the Commons in Parliament that this letter be printed and published. H. Elsynge Cl. Parl. D. Com., London, printed for Edw. Husbands, and to be sold at his shop in the Middle Temple, March 28th, 1643.”

There is sufficient mention made of the Westport and its neighbourhood in this letter to enable us very fairly to picture to ourselves to-day the assault, the defence, the surrender. If Rushworth is correct, and only one piece of ordnance (doubtless placed so as to sweep the approach to the Westport) was taken, and Captain Hine's account of the want of arms amongst the garrison supports this view, it does not appear that the Royalists had given Malmesbury much power of resistance; and so it fell by drum and trumpet into the hands of exhausted foes who were all-but beaten off. Hard fate!

Cirencester was alarmed, as we gather from another letter<sup>1</sup> from Hines to Prince Rupert :—

“S<sup>r</sup>—Yesterday S<sup>r</sup>. Will. Waler sett upon Malmesbury and play'd very hard upon it with his great and small shott, about 2 of the clocke this morninge I sent out such force of horse and dragoons as I could rayse for to aide them but they came tow howers to late for the towne was delivred up, but upon what tearms I doe not as yeat certainly heare, the enemy hath taken all the comandars and officers prisoners with most of the souldiers, only some few excepted, which made escape. wee expect them with us every hower, I thought fitt to advertise your Highness hereof that hapely in time your Highness might afforde some reliefe to them or ayde to us. See with my humble service I take leave and rest.—Your Highness servant to comande, JO. HINES, Cirencester, March 22th, 1642.”

But “Sir William the Conqueror,” as the newspapers began to call him, stayed not for so small a quarry, and passing that place made his famous “night-march.” He crossed the Severn in boats not far from Gloucester with a small force and fell suddenly upon the rear of Lord Herbert's army, which consisted chiefly of recent Welsh levies. The latter were completely routed, with a loss of five hundred killed and thirteen hundred foot and three troops of horse taken

<sup>1</sup> The original of this is in the possession of Dr. Jennings, who has kindly permitted its use for this paper.

prisoners. Lord Herbert with difficulty escaped to Oxford. Tewkesbury soon heard the tramp of Waller's victorious troopers. Thence he returned to Gloucester, where, scarce resting, he hurried once more across the river to Chepstow and Monmouth, which he reduced. Soon after (April 25th), on a brisk cannonade, Hereford opened her gates to him, and many cavaliers—amongst them Lord Scudamore's son, Sir R. Cave, Sir Walter Price, Sir William Crofts, and others—surrendered "on terms of quarter to officers and soldiers, plundering to be prohibited, the ladies to be civilly treated."

Some weeks later we find him opposed to his old companion in arms, Sir Ralph, afterwards Lord Hopton, the gallant commander of the Western Army, who, flushed with his successes in the West, had arrived at Lansdown. Just previous to the battle between their armies which occurred at that place, on the 5th of July, 1643, Sir William Waller wrote the following answer<sup>1</sup> to a letter received from Hopton:—

"Sir

"The experience which I have had of your worth, and the happiness which I have enjoyed in your friendship, are wounding considerations to me, when I look upon this present distance between us; certainly, Sir, my affections to you are so unchangeable, that hostility itself cannot violate my friendship to your person; but I must be true to the cause wherein I serve. The old limitation of *usque ad aras* holdeth still: and where my conscience is interested, all other obligations are swallowed up. I should wait on you according to your desire, but that I look on you as engaged in that party beyond the possibility of retreat, and consequently incapable of being wrought upon by ante persuasion, and I know the conference could never be so close betwixt us, but that it would take wind, and receive a construction to my dishonour. That Great God who is the searcher of all hearts knows with what a sad fear I go upon this service, and with what a perfect hate I detest a war without an enemy, but I look upon it as *opus domini*, which is enough to silence all passion in me. The God of peace send us in his good time, the blessing of peace, and in the mean time fit us to receive it. We are both on the stage and must act those parts that are assigned to us in this tragedy, but let us do it in the way of honour, and without personal animosity, whatsoever the issue of it be, I shall never resign that dear title of

"Your most affectionate friend

"and faithful Servant

"WILLIAM WALLER."

There speaks "the man" Waller—the friend, soldier, and patriot.

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<sup>1</sup> This is taken from the introduction to Waller's "Vindication."

But I cannot on the present occasion follow him in his "retreat"<sup>1</sup> from Lansdown, where, to use his own language, "he escaped a shower of balls," or subsequent defeat at Roundway, and the mazes of his long and eventful life, for I must return to Malmesbury, and pass over its re-occupation by the Royalists, to notice the re-capture by the Parliamentary forces under Colonel Massey, May, A.D. 1644, and we have this interesting record of it, which should be compared with Sir William Waller's letter of the previous year:—

"The next day Massey faced Malmesbury, and summoned it for the King and Parliament; but Colonel Henry Howard, the Governor, returned answer 'That he kept it for the King and Parliament assembled at Oxford, and without their command would never part with it.' And for further answer fired upon them gallantly. Massey's foot got into the suburbs, and broke their way through the houses, till they came almost up to the works, and the only place of entrance into the town, which is built upon the level of a rock; Massey caused a blind to be made across the street, to bring up the ordnance within carbine shot; but in the heat of business the fancy of an alarm seized upon his men, that those in the town were sallying out upon them, which was nothing so; and yet so prevalent was this panic fear that those very men who at other times would brave it in the face of an enemy, venture on breaches, and almost to the mouths of discharging cannons, now were smitten with such distraction and fear, that they all fled when none pursued them, and left their ordnance in open street. The garrison, by reason of the blind, perceived not this advantage, which otherwise had proved fatal to the assailants. Massey had much to do to rally his amazed soldiers, but at last they recovered both their courage and their ground. Yet by this means the pretended assault was put off till the next morning; when at break of day a forlorn hope, seconded with a good reserve, advanced to the only passage that had no drawbridge, but only a turnpike: to which they came up, and flung in their granadoes. Those within made a shot at random, but by the disadvantage of a rainy night their musquets lying wet on the works were little serviceable; so that Massey's men thronged in, and got possession of the town. Colonel Howard was taken at the works, making as brave a resistance as was possible, having received three several shots in his clothes, yet all missed his body. Upon the first entrance Massey gave strict orders that the town should be preserved from plunder; nor would he at any time suffer his soldiers to ransaek any place they took by storm, giving this reason, 'That he could not judge any part of England to be an enemy's country, nor an English town capable of devastation by English soldiers.'

"Colonel Devereux was left governor of the town, and his regiment quartered there. (Rushworth, Hist. Col., Pt. III., Vol. 2, pp. 738 and 739.)"

How Malmesbury was garrisoned by the Parliament after this

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<sup>1</sup> In the MS. of Waller's "Memoirs" he says "upon the retreat." In the published edition this becomes "when I made the retreat from Lansdown."

event appears well from the following letter, preserved in the Record Office<sup>1</sup> :—

“To the Honor<sup>ble</sup> William Lenthall Esquier Speaker to the honno<sup>ble</sup> house of  
ye Commons these present

to the Honno<sup>ble</sup> House

“Right Honno<sup>ble</sup>

“Being hear Intrusted by the noble Governo<sup>r</sup> of Gloucest<sup>r</sup> not onelie to receive in the contributions for the maintenance of this garrison but allsoe to give him Intelligence of all occurrences that may Annie way Accrew unto the gennera<sup>ll</sup> good. The w<sup>h</sup> upon all occasions I have faithfullie done. And now lately haveing sent out by vertue of his commission one Capt Sallmon to fetch in som money in Chippenham hundred w<sup>th</sup>in this Com<sup>c</sup> of Willtshire; whoe by God's providence seized uppon M<sup>r</sup>. Hayes M<sup>r</sup>. Usher to herr Ma<sup>tie</sup> and found w<sup>th</sup> him manie letters from his Ma<sup>tie</sup> the Earle off Digby and diverse others off great Concernment whom the s<sup>d</sup>. Capt Sallmon brought into this garrison on thursday last in the Afternoone and delivered up to Collonell Devereux governour hear by Collonell Massey's appoyntment: with all the s<sup>d</sup>. letters. whoe coppied out the principall and sent the originalls to my Lord Generall. all w<sup>th</sup> was donne without givinge the least notice thereof to the governo<sup>r</sup> of Gloucest<sup>r</sup>. wch. when I understood w<sup>th</sup> other particular passages in the caryedge of this mayn businesse of consequence I gave the Governour of Gloucest<sup>r</sup> notice theareof w<sup>th</sup> all possible speed I could. Whoe I make noe question but will w<sup>th</sup> all expedition give an Accompt thereof to this honno<sup>ble</sup> Assemblie; And now this p<sup>s</sup>ent Instant dining w<sup>th</sup> the Governo<sup>r</sup> Devereux hear hee finding by my poore Counsell to further him in the genne<sup>ll</sup> good. Revealed unto mee the Coppie of the kinges p<sup>t</sup>icular letter written to the Queene whearein is more expressed to discover their great plott against our nation than all the rest, being but in figures. Whereupon I demanded Iffe he had sent Coppies of all to the Parliam<sup>t</sup> as well as to his Excellency. whoe tould me hee had not. therefore in consideration of the p<sup>s</sup>ent necessitie as allsoe in regard the letters though sent by his Excellencie for London might be surprised I gave him Counsell to send Coppies of the said letters to this honno<sup>ble</sup> Assemblie. notwithstanding all former delay whoe takeing my advice I w<sup>th</sup> all speed that might bee assisted him in writing these copies for the more secure and speedie Information of this honno<sup>ble</sup> Assemblie in the p<sup>m</sup>ises to w<sup>th</sup> end I have sent upp my owne servant this bearer for the more ffaythfull & speedie deliverie, humble beseeching Allmightie God to give you the spirit of wisdome to discerne not onlie these but all the bloudie plotts of the enemies of God's church for the utter subversion of Antichrist

“Your honno<sup>ble</sup> humble & faithfull

“servant till death

“Malmesburye the 6 of Julie  
A<sup>o</sup> 1644.”

“AN<sup>d</sup> CARTRIGHT

Leaving Malmesbury in such careful hands, I must with regret close this paper.

<sup>1</sup> “State Papers, Domestic, 1644.” There appears to be nothing in those of 1643 referring to this subject.



## Certain Old Documents relating to the Parish of Broad Hinton.

Communicated by the Rev. JOHN A. LLOYD, Vicar.

**I**N the register of Saint Nicholas' Hospital, which is in the hands of the present Master—The Rev. George H. Moberly, Principal of the Lichfield Theological College—ten closely-written pages are to be found, containing matter relating to the parish of Broad Hinton. Different deeds are there copied out, the titles of which I am able to give, and also the Latin of one particular deed (the second on the list), of peculiar interest as shewing the “*metæ et bundæ*” of the original gift of land at Broad Hinton to the hospital, through the courtesy of Mr. Moberly. The names are curious, and seem lost to the parish, as I cannot trace either Landelaws, Fernhulleslade, Walfurlang beyond the bourne, or the Portway.

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- “2.—Carta Ricardi filii Hugonis filii Ricardi de Henton declarans ubi prædictæ sex acræ tenæ jacent per metas et bundas.
- “3.—Carta Willelmi de Cawa de duabus acris tenæ collatis Hospitali Sarum in Henton.
- “4.—Carta Willelmi Episcopi Sarum de appropriatione Ecclesiæ de brodehenton per eundem facta magistro et fratribus Hosp. S. Nich. Sarum.
- “5.—Ordinatio vicarie de brodehenton facta per Egidium Episcopum Sarum.
- “6.—Declaratio Nicholai Episcopi Sarum super predicta carta Egidii supra ordinacionem vicarie supradicte.
- “7.—Carta Johannis atte Elme de uno messuagio et una crofta in brodehenton datis Walterio Shirburn et Ricardo Baynard.
- “8.—Carta Walterii de Shirborn facta Henrico Wodehay de terris prædictis.
- “9.—Carta Henrici de Wodhay super prædictis per quam dictus Wodhay dedit easdem terras magister et fratribus Hosp. S. Nich. Sarum.
- “10.—Rector de Henton Hugoni de Henton, oratoria.
- “11.—Carta prioris et conventus Walmsford de duabus libris cere annuatim ecclesiæ de Henton solvendis.”

## "BRODEHENTON.

"2.—*Carta Ricardi filii Hugonis filii Ricardi de Henton declarans ubi prædictæ sex acra tenæ jacent per metas et bundas.*

"Sciant præcætes et futuri quod ego Ricardus filius Hugonis filii Ricardi de Henton miles dedi concessi et hac præcæti carta mea confirmavi des et beatæ Mariæ et magistro Hospitalis Sancti Nicholai Sarum et fratribus ibidem deo servientibus et capellariis suis quam aliis infirmis et aliis in eodam hospitali commorantibus sex acras tenæ meæ cum omnibus pertinenciis suis in Henton una cum advocacione parochialis ecclesiæ beatæ Mariæ Virginis ejusdem villæ cum suis omnibus pertinenciis viz. unam acram et dimidium quæ vocantur landelaws et sunt jacentes inter terram Roberti Swayn et terram clarcie faires lof et unam acram et dimidium in Walfurlang ultra burne quæ sunt jacentes inter terram Willelmi de Calna et terram Willelmi pyk et duas acras gardnum ejusdem ecclesiæ super Whetehull quæ sunt jacentes inter terram Johannis de newbury et terram alicie le Gay Et dimidium acra propinquiorem crofte persone versus aquilonem et dimidium acra quæ se extendit de ffernhulleslade in longitudine inter laportweye et terram Willelmi de Calna. Habendum et tenendum dictis Magistro et Hospitali et fratribus de me et heredibus meis in puram et perpetuam elemosinam quietam ab omni seculari servicio consuetudinè exactione et demandatione in perpetuum Et ego Ricardus et heredes mei totam prædictam terram cum pertinenciis suis et advocacionem prædictam cum eis pertinenciis prædicti hospitalis magistro et fratribus et omnibus eis in prædicto hospitali succedentibus contra omnes homines warrantizabimus acquietabimus et defendamus inperpetuum sicut puram et perpetuam elemosinam nostram Et per hanc donationem concessionem et præcæti cartæ consummacionem warrantisationem et acquietacionem et defensionem idem magister et fratres prædicti receperunt me et heredes meos in singulis beneficiis et oracionibus quæ in prædicto Hospitali inperpetuum Et de majore hujus donacionis concessionis et consummacionis securitate huic scripto sigillum meum apposui Hiis testibus dominii et magistris Roberto Decano Sarum Radulpho castellano Sarum et multis aliis."

The *date* of the above document is fixed by the foregoing deed, which was executed at the same time, and conveyed the advowson. This is dated August 20th, A.D. 1253.

An extract from the foregoing deeds was made by the Rev. Edward Hickman, chaplain of the hospital from 1703 to 1728, and as it is in English I venture to add it as an additional item of interest in our parish history.

*Extract from collection of copies of charters, donations, &c., relating to St. Nicholas Hospital, Salisbury, made by the Rev. Edward Hickman, chaplain of the hospital from 1703 to 1728.*

"In the 37th of King Henry 3rd on September 14th Richard of Hinton the son of Hugo de Hinton Knight hath given to God the Blessed Virgin the Hospital of St. Nicholas in Sarum and to y<sup>e</sup> Master & brethren of the same six acres of land with their appurtenances in the village of Hinton with the advowson of

the Church of Hinton and all the profits and incomes of the same for a pure and perpetual alms to be enjoyed freely and quietly from all secular exactions & demands & I and my heirs will warrant it for ever.

[In about 1257.] “William de Calna son of Reginald de Calna Knight hath given to God the Blessed Virgin and the Hospital of Saint Nicholas 2 acres of arable land in the territory of Hinton for a pure and perpetual alms and also one messuage with a Back side in the village of Hinton to be as peaceably enjoyed as any alms can be for which grants Giles Bishop of Sarum hath granted to the said William liberty to build a Chapel in his Court where himself children and family may have Divine Service.

“In about 1248 William Bishop of Sarum did appropriate the Church of Broad Hinton to the Hospital of St. Nich: but deferring what he would after order for the Vicar which was done by Giles Bishop of Sarum in 1258 and confirmed by the Dean and Chapter in 1259 but the disposal of any portion of it lay yet reserved and was afterwards ordained by Bishop Nicholas in 1295 at Pottern.

“Henry de Woodhay for the salvation of the soul of his father mother &c hath given to God the Blessed Virgin St. Nicholas and the Master & Brothers of St. Nicholas Hospital for a pure and perpetual alms one messuage and a little close in the village of Broad Hinton.

“Hugh Patron of the Church of Hinton hath given other things to the Rectory for confirmation of his chapel (viz) that the way may be 16 foot wide 2 p<sup>r</sup> ann. and pasturage for 4 cattle.

“The Prior and Convent of Wallingford gives 2 p<sup>r</sup> annum of the Church of Hinton because they have tythes thence of 2 Hides of Land of Basset.

In more modern times we have an interesting deed of conveyance by several of the trustees appointed by the Commonwealth Parliament for the sale of the estates and property belonging to the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral of Salisbury. The property conveyed consisted of a messuage and about sixty-four acres of land at Uffcott, which the Chapter had granted by a lease dated 25th April, 13th Charles I., to Richard Weare, otherwise Browne, of Wroughton, for the lives of himself and his sons Thomas and James: this property is now in the possession of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who obtained the estates from the Dean and Chapter, to whom they had been restored, by a commutation effected in the year 1860, under the provisions of an order of the Queen in Council. At that time this land at Uffcott was held under a beneficial lease, granted by the Chapter in the year 1856 to John Washbourne Brown, yeoman, of Uffcott, and Lovegrove Waldron, of Eastridge, in the parish of Ramsbury. The expiration of the leasehold brought the property into the possession of the Commissioners in the year 1877.

It will be noticed that one of the signatures is that of Owen Rowe, a colonel in the Parliamentary Army, and one of the regicides who signed the death-warrant of Charles I. He was a descendant of Sir Thomas Rowe, Kt., Lord Mayor of London in 1568. He died a prisoner in the Tower of London, and was buried at Hackney amongst his relatives, 27th December, 1661. If the conveyance is compared with the enrolled copy in the Court of Chancery, dated 28th May, 1650 (Close Roll, 1650, Part 6, No. 32), various discrepancies will be found; discrepancies very likely to occur when so many confiscated estates had to be enrolled about the same time. For example, there are no signatures to the enrolled transcript; "Uffcott" is called "Ufford"; "Jane Weare" is put for "James Weare"; and there is a small mistake in the value of the yearly rent paid by the former lessees to the Chapter. The owner of the deed of conveyance is Mr. John W. Brown, now living in Broad Hinton, and who is possibly a descendant of the John Weare, alias Browne, alluded to in the document.

"THIS INDENTURE made the eight & twentieth day of May in the year of our Lord God, according to the computation of the Church of England, one thousand six hundred and fifty, between S<sup>r</sup>. John Woolaston Knight, Robert Tichborne, Thomas Noel, Marke Hilodsley, Stephen Estwicke, William Hobson, Thomas Arnold, Owen Roe, George Langham, John Stone, John White, William Wyberd, Daniell Taylor, William Rolf and Rowland Wilson, Esquires, being (by two several acts of this present Parliament the one entitled an act of the Commons of England in Parliament assembled for the abolishing of Deans, Deans and Chapters, Canons, Prebends, & other Offices & Titles of or belonging to any Cathedral or Collegiate Church or Chapel within England and Wales, & the other entitled an act with further instructions to the Trustees, Contractors, Treasurers, and Registrars for the sale of the lands and possessions of the late Deans, Sub Deans, Deans & Chapters, & for the better & more speedy execution of the former acts, commands & instructions made concerning the same), PERSONS, trusted for the conveying of such of the lands & possessions of the said late Deans, Deans & Chapters, Canons, Prebends and other persons named in the said Acts, as by the same acts respectively are vested and settled in the said Trustees & their heirs in such sort as in the said acts respectively is mentioned of the one part, & John Weare alias Browne of the parish of Martins-in-the-fields, in the County of Middlesex Gent, of the other part WITNESSETH that the said Sir John Woolaston, Robert Tichborne, Thomas Noel, Marke Hilodsley, Stephen Estwicke, William Hobson, Thomas Arnold, Owen Roe, George Langham, John Stone, John White, William Wyberd, Daniell Taylor, William Rolf, & Rowland Wilson, in obedience to the said acts respectively & by virtue thereof & in execu-

tion of the powers and trusts thereby respectively committed unto them, & at the advise & by the warrant of Sir William Roberts Knight, Thomas Ayres, William Parker, Robert Fenwick, & Edward Cressell Esquires, who together with others named in the said act herein before first mentioned, or any five, or more of them, are by the said acts or one of them, authorised to treat, contract & agree for the sale of the said lands & possessions in such sort, as in the said acts respectively is mentioned. AND IN CONSIDERATION of the sum of one hundred sixty three pounds one shilling & four pence of lawful money of England which the said Thomas Noel & Stephen Estwick two of the Treasurers in that behalf appointed by the said first mentioned act have by writing under their hands bearing date the four & twentieth day of this instant month of May, now procured by the said John Weare, alias Browne & remaining with him certified to be paid & satisfied by him in such sort as by the same writing appears, HATH granted, alienated, bargained, & sold, & by these presents doe grant, alien, bargain & sell unto the said John Weare alias Browne, his heirs & assigns, ALL that messuage, & tenement, with the appurtenances situate lying & being in Uffcott in the County of Wilts, now or late in the tenure or occupation of Richard Brown; & all houses, edifices, structures, buildings, barnes, stables, orchards, gardens, yards, courts, curtilages & backsides to the same belonging AND all that one close of meadow adjoining to the said house containing by estimation two acres more or less. AND all those two closes of pasture called by the name of the common close, bounded with the lands of Richard Baker on the east & the ground of the Widow Greenway on the north containing by estimation five acres more or less, AND all those certain parcels of arable land lying dispersedly in the common fields of Uffcott aforesaid containing by estimation fifty six acres more or less. AND all that pasture for one hundred and seaventy sheep on the common downes and fields of Uffcott aforesaid. AND all ways, passages, easements commodities, watercourses, profits advantages, and appurtenances to the said messuage or tenement, lands & premises or any part or parcel thereof belonging or in any wise appertaining. WHICH said messuage or tenement, lands, and premises are mentioned in the particular thereof to have been late parcel of the possessions of the late Dean and Chapter of the late Cathedral Church of the Virgin Mary in Sarum, and to have been by indenture bearing date the five & twentieth day of April in the thirteenth year of the reign of the late King Charles demised by the late Dean & Chapter of the said late Cathedral Church to Richard Weare alias Browne of Wroughton in the County of Wilts Yeoman, for the term of his natural life, & the heirs of Thomas Weare, alias Browne, & James Weare alias Browne, his Sons, under the yearly rent of forty shillings & two pence thereby reserved & to be upon improvement of the yearly value of eighteen pounds nineteen shillings & ten pence over and above the said yearly rent reserved, AND the reversion & reversions, remainder & remainders of the said messuages or tenement, land, & premises & of any part and parcel thereof TO HAVE & TO HOLD the said messuage or tenement & lands, & all & singular other the said premises, hereby granted aliened, bargained, or sold, or herein before mentioned to be hereby granted aliened, bargained or sold, with their & any of their appurtenances unto the said John Weare, alias Browne, his heirs & assigns for ever, to the only use & behoof of the said John Weare, alias Browne, his heirs & assigns for ever as amply as the said Trustees, or any of them by the said acts or either of them are enabled to

convey the same discharged of all demands, payments, & Incumbrances, as amply as by the said Acts or either of them it is enacted or provided in that behalf. IN WITNESS whereof the said parties to these indentures interchangeably have set their seals: given the day & year first above written.

THO: NOEL      ROWILSON      OWEN ROWE      DANIEL TAYLOR  
MARKE HILDESTREY      WILL ROLFE      GEORGE LANGHAM      WILLIAM WIBEED "

## A Description of the Saxon Work in the Church of S. James, Abury.

By C. E. PONTING, Esq.,  
(Diocesan Surveyor and Architect.)

**F**EATURES of unusual interest having been brought to light during the recent restoration of this Church, I venture to place on record a brief description of them, with some notes concerning the circumstances which led to their discovery.

In order to render this description more intelligible I illustrate it by sketches of parts of the building as it now exists, and of the various features referred to.

I am unable to give an account of the earliest stage of the restoration of this most interesting Church, which was commenced in 1877 and carried on until 1881 under a well-known London architect, for when, in July 1882, I was called in by the Vicar and churchwardens, the restoration of the chancel, south aisle, porch, and the clerestory of the nave had been completed, and I was requested to undertake that of the remainder of the nave, north aisle and tower; but it is necessary, in order to complete the chain of evidence as to the Saxon Church, that I should refer to one or two points in the works previously done.

During their execution two round-headed windows—one on each side in the western responds of the nave arcade—were opened out, the sill of that on the north side being 8ft. 11in. and that on the south side 9ft. 8in. above the present floor-level.

These windows have rebates for shutters flush with the exterior



:Church of S. James : Abury:

Plate 1.

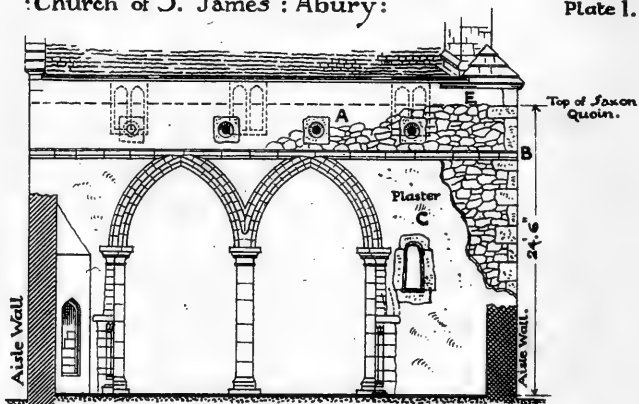


Fig 1. ELEVATION OF NORTH SIDE OF NAVE  
(ORIGINALLY THE OUTSIDE) AS AT PRESENT BUT WITH AISLE REMOVED

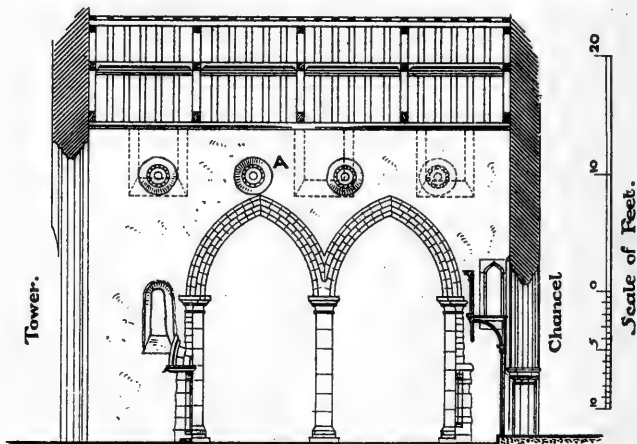


Fig 2. INSIDE OF NORTH WALL OF NAVE  
AS AT PRESENT.



face of the wall and the marks of the hooks for hinges could be clearly seen. The openings on the outside average 3ft. 2 in. in height from sill to the springing of the head, and in width taper from 1ft. 5in. at the sill to 1ft. 3½in. at the springing level. On the inside they are splayed to about 2ft. 5in. wide, the splays of the jambs and heads being of worked stone, the heads formed of whole stones, but the sill-slopes are of rubble, plastered. An enlarged section is given in Fig. 6. The early date of these windows is proved (apart from their general character and rudeness of form) by their having been cut into by the arcade of two arches, inserted on each side in the twelfth century, when aisles were added to the previously-existing nave. These arcades were removed in 1828 for the insertion of others having columns of a pseudo-Classic kind; but the shafts and portions of the springers and label still remain in the responds, as shown by Figs. 1 and 2: the voussoirs of the present arches, too, are the original ones only slightly re-worked.

Three new two-light windows had also been inserted in the nave clerestory on each side in 1880, and these are indicated in the elevations by dotted lines: I believe two of a debased kind existed previously on the south side, but none on the north other than the Saxon openings referred to below.

Amongst the *debris* in the churchyard I noticed two singular-looking stones, averaging about 1ft. 8in. square and 12½in. thick, pierced with openings of an irregular circular form and about 7in. in diameter. These openings were splayed on both sides (more on one side than on the other, the splays meeting at an obtuse angle) and around the wider splay of each was a circle formed of fourteen holes of about 1 in. in diameter and 3 in. in depth, the direction of the holes inclining outwards towards the surface (see Fig. 5). Upon enquiry I learnt that these stones had been removed in inserting the new windows in the north clerestory wall and thrown aside, being considered of comparatively modern date and little interest;<sup>1</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> The two stones alluded to above were noticed by the Rev. W. C. Lukis and myself on many occasions in the summer of 1881, when we were employed for several weeks within the precincts of the Abury circles. They were the subject of much speculation on our parts as to what purpose they could have served, and we more than once turned them over, and examined them with much curiosity:

that a third stone of similar form, and taken from the same wall, had been sawn up for use in other parts of the building.

I then made a careful search for some clue as to their former position, and on removing the plastering from the inside, and the fifteenth-century roof of the north aisle (which was so much decayed that no part of it could be preserved) a fourth of these stones was found, happily untouched and *in situ*, over the 1828 arcade, forming a window on the exterior face of the wall, and having a wide splay of the same circular form internally—as at **A A** Figs. 1 and 2.

The mason who did the work was confident that one of the three which he had removed was taken from a position 3 in. to the west of the centre of the westernmost new window, and another (the one broken up) from about the like position as regards the easternmost window.

The former I found to correspond vertically with the round-headed window in the respond below, and measurements of the position of the one *in situ* and of the ascertained positions of the two replaced by the two modern windows showed the four to have been nearly equally spaced laterally.

There were distinct traces of the fifteenth century roof of the north aisle having been altered in post-Reformation times from the original span form to that of a lean-to against the clerestory, thus hiding the exterior faces of these windows from view. This roof rested upon a heavy chamfered string-course of stone running the entire length of the nave on the outside as at **B** Fig. 1; an enlarged section of which and of the windows over is given in Fig. 4.

The character of this string is unmistakably Saxon. The outside face of the north clerestory wall was found to be plastered around the circular window and down to the string-course, the plaster being connected with both; this is composed of a fine white sand, and is extremely hard. Plastering of a similar kind was found to exist below the aisle roof on this wall and it had been retained as an inner

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but it never occurred to either of us that they were old; and it is only due to Mr. Ponting to say that until he discovered the period to which they belonged, it was never suspected by either of us, or by anyone else so far as I know, that they were other than modern and valueless. All honour to him who so cleverly found out their antiquity, and restored them to their original position. [ED.]



: Church of S. James : Abury :

Plate 2.

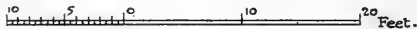
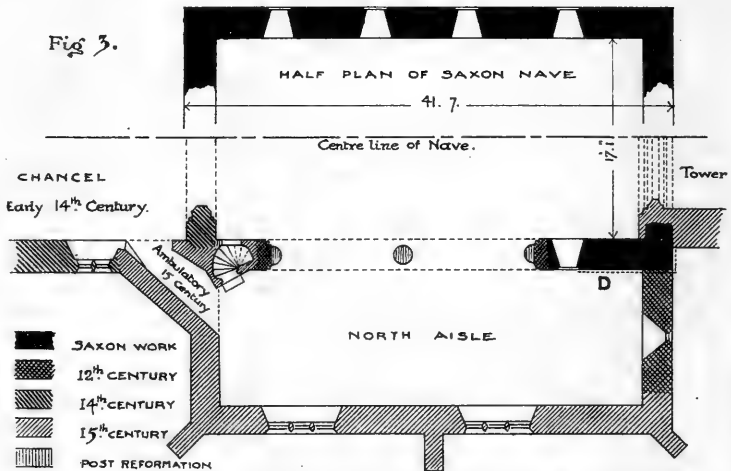


Fig 3.



PLAN OF HALF OF EXISTING NAVE AND NORTH AISLE

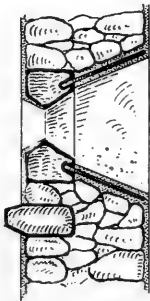


Fig 4.

SECTION THRO' SAXON NAVE WINDOWS OF UPPER TIER AND STRING COURSE

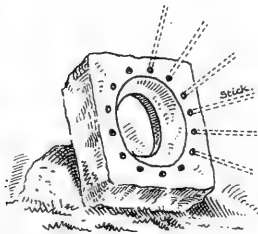


Fig 5. SKETCH SHOWING SAXON WINDOWS OF UPPER TIER AS FOUND IN CHURCHYARD.

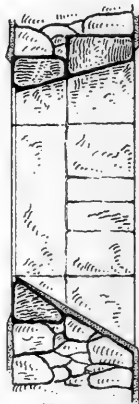
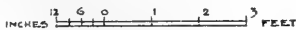


Fig 6.

SECTION THRO' SAXON NAVE WINDOWS OF LOWER TIER.



lining in the alterations of the twelfth and fifteenth centuries. It was in a very loose condition, but I have been able to retain a piece of it near to **C** Fig. 1, by pouring thin cement behind it to secure it to the wall. The antiquity of this plastering was an interesting point which further investigation proved in the most conclusive manner, for on taking down, for the purpose of re-building, a dilapidated portion of the late twelfth century wall at the west end of the north aisle which abutted against—but was not bonded into—the wall of the nave, the plastering was found to be *continued through* the point of connexion of the walls, as shown by dotted line at **D** on the plan Fig. 3. It was also carried around the quoin and into the connection of the fifteenth century tower with the nave, and, upon the portion of it on the west side being removed, the quoin itself was seen to be of Saxon long-and-short work reaching from the ground to the level **E** (Fig. 1).

I then examined the south wall of the clerestory, on the outside of which there are distinct traces of corresponding stones where not interfered with by the modern windows. I was also informed that a similar string-course to that on the north exists here, and that the old roof rested on it, but it is now hidden by the oak ceiling erected in 1880, having been kept below it.

The valuable evidence thus obtained clearly established the form and dimensions of the Saxon nave, the half plan of which is shown in Fig. 3. It appears to have been a parallelogram, 41ft. 7in. long, 22ft. 3in. wide (extreme dimensions), and 24ft. 6in. high from the present floor-level to the eaves (this however, as will be suggested, is probably not the full original height); the side walls pierced by four windows on each side at about 9ft. from the floor, provided with shutters externally, and an upper stage of small circular windows or orifices which, so far as can be seen, were always open, probably for light when the lower windows were closed in stormy weather or "stormy" times. The two stages were separated by a stone string-course 8 in. thick, and the whole of the exterior, with the exception of this course, covered with plaster.

The nave probably terminated at the east end with an apse: this however would have been destroyed in building the present chancel,

and, as the restoration of this part was completed before the commencement of these discoveries, I had no opportunity of searching for the foundations.

The system of fenestration adopted here is, I believe, very exceptional in buildings of this early period: a somewhat similar arrangement may, however, be seen in the upper stage of the Saxon tower of S. Benet's, Cambridge. But it is to the peculiar construction of the inner splays of the circular upper windows that I would specially call attention.

The single stone forming the outer portion of each window had a double splay (the lesser being on the exterior) and the circle of radiating holes before mentioned: the use of these holes was indicated on clearing out the filling of the window found *in situ*, when it was seen that a "centre" or cage of the kind of work known locally as "wattle-and-daub," around which to construct the splay, was formed by inserting in the holes round sticks (apparently of willow—those found had the bark still upon them), reaching to the inner face of the wall (see Fig. 4 and dotted lines in sketch, Fig. 5) and interlacing with them, in a transverse direction, smaller split sticks, making a kind of basket or hurdle work, which was then plastered on both sides. The "wattle" work was in a crumbling state, but a small portion, with the plastering attached, is retained, and may still be seen.

The two of these unique circular lights which remained have, of course, been restored to their original position on the north side, although not without some unavoidable injury to the appearance of the 1881 windows, which I was instructed to retain. The splays have been made to the ancient form, but without the sticks, the holes in which the latter were inserted being exposed to view. The easternmost of these windows, as stated, does not exist, but its position is indicated by dotted lines.

The joints of the lower windows and of the long-and-short quoin, are thin and close, which would indicate the date of the work to be, at any rate, anterior to the eleventh century, and it is probably *much* earlier than that period.

The Saxon walls are 2ft. 7in. thick, constructed of rubble masonry,

consisting chiefly of unwrought sarsen boulders of small size with necessarily coarse mortar joints.

It is a point worthy of note that these clerestory walls (which had been regarded as of post-Reformation date) have survived the various alterations which they have undergone, without any sign of settlement, and the strength of this early masonry is further shown in the western wall of the Saxon nave, upon portions of which the lofty Perpendicular tower was raised without any indication of failure resulting from it.

The unusually lofty proportions of the nave as it now exists, as well as the great width of the Church as compared with its length, are due to its early origin and the adherence to its original dimensions in the various alterations which have since been made—the enlargements having been effected by adjuncts to, rather than by any extension of, the Saxon nave. The internal dimensions of the present Church are :—49ft. 9 in. in width across nave and aisles ; whilst the length of the nave is only 35ft. 8in. The original height of the walls is probably not fully represented by the 24ft. 6in. above the present floor, since the bases of the fourteenth century chancel arch jambs have been buried by a subsequent raising of the floor. I have not, however, been able to discover any reliable indication of the original floor-level.

The removal of these priceless relics of early Christian architecture (in the fortunate recovery of which I have been privileged to be instrumental) is another instance of the necessity for close and constant watchfulness and care on the part of those engaged in pulling about our old Churches, and for not taking for granted any work to be “modern” until it is proved not to be otherwise. I believe that early work is far more common than is generally supposed, and that due care and observation would in many cases of restoration have revealed traces of it which have been lost.

It may be of interest to add that the original fifteenth century roof of the nave has been repaired and retained, and that the new oak ceiling of the north aisle is an exact copy, line for line, of the old one, the original position also of which—above the Saxon string-course—has been preserved.

## The Ayliffes of Grittenham.

By the Rev. Canon J. E. JACKSON, F.S.A.

**G**RITTENHAM is a manor in the parish of Brinkworth, in North Wilts. Of the manor-house once there only a fragment now remains; and of the Ayliffe family, to whom it belonged for about two hundred years, nothing. Their estates at Grittenham, Winterbourne Bassett, Norton, and Foxley, passed early in the last century, in a manner that will be described, to the family of Fox, Lord Holland, and now belong to the widow of the last lord, who died without issue in 1859. The right of the Ayliffes so to transfer them was indisputable, but the exercise of the right was the cause, at least, a chief cause, of leading into evil courses, and at last to an untimely end, an unwise and misguided pretender to the estates, the circumstances of which will form the principal subject of this paper.

There were in different counties in England two or three families of the name of Ayliffe. One in Kent claimed to be descended from one Aluph, a Saxon, whose name still continues to be attached to the village of Boughton-Aluph, near Wye. Another, with a baronetcy which expired in 1781, was of Braxtead, Brittaines, and Chissell, Co. Essex: but in their pedigree there does not seem to be any link with the Ayliffes of North Wilts.<sup>1</sup> These begin with Sir John Ayliff, of Blackwell Hall, London, sheriff and alderman, a famous surgeon, knighted by King Edward VI.: whose portrait appears in Holbein's great picture at Barber Surgeons Hall in Monkwell Street: being the second person from the king on his

<sup>1</sup> The coats of arms of the two families are different. Ayliffe of Braxtead used Sable a lion rampant between three crosses pattée or. The Wilts family, Argent on a chevron raguly sable between three estoiles gules, three bucks' heads. Crest, out of a ducal coronet an oak tree. For pedigrees see Harl. MS. No. 1165, f. 28: also No. 1443, f. 16<sup>b</sup>: and the Visitation of Wilts of 1623, lately printed by Dr. George W. Marshall.





JOHN AYLIFFE, ESQ.,

Executed for Forgery, 19th November, 1759.

*From a Portrait in the possession of Sir Robert Jacob Buxton, Bart.,  
of Shadwell Court, Co. Norfolk.*



right hand. This worthy's epitaph, inspired by the Muse of Sternhold and Hopkins, was in St. Michael's Church, Basinghall Street, and is printed in Stow's London. Book III., p. 67:—

“In chirurg'ry brought up in youth, a Knight here lyeth dead,  
A Knight and eke a surgeon such as England seld hath bred.  
For which so sovereign gift of God wherin he did excell  
King Henry VIIJ call'd him to Court, who lov'd him dearly well.  
God gave the gift: the King gave goods, the gift of God t'enhance  
Where God and such a prince do join, such man hath happy chance.  
King Edward for his service sake bad him rise up a knight  
A name of praise, and ever since he SIR JOHN AYLIFF hight.”  
    &c., &c.

The “goods” given by King Henry were the lands at Grittenham, part of the confiscated property of Malmesbury Abbey. From him descended John Ayliff, Sheriff of Wilts, 1609, and Sir George, 1635, described as “of Rabson, in Winterbourn Basset.” There were marriages with the families of St. John, Danvers, Goddard, and others in the county. Anne Ayliffe, daughter of Sir George, was the first wife of Edward Hyde, afterwards Lord Chancellor Clarendon: and dying 1632 was buried at Purley Church, Co. Berks.<sup>1</sup>

We have a few notices of some members of the Grittenham family who obtained a little notoriety. The first occurs in Mr. Forster's Life of Sir John Eliot (Vol. I., 8). Speaking of the fatal encounters that were common between gentlemen in the reign of King James I., he says:—“Not even the latest display of determined disapproval by James, which had brought to the very foot of the gallows *young Mr. Ayloff of Wilts* for slaying the cousin of the Countess of Bedford, availed to suppress or check those blazings forth of temper,” &c.

The Countess of Bedford of James the First's time was a very celebrated lady: by birth Lady Lucy Harington, the elder of the two daughters of the first Lord Harington, of Exton, and coheirs of the second lord, their brother. She married Edward, third Earl of Bedford, in 1594. She was a lady of great taste and spirit, but

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<sup>1</sup> Her monument with portraitures of herself and infant, with a touching Latin inscription, is mentioned in Ashmole's “Berks,” I., 2. See also “Wiltshire Collections,” Aubrey and Jackson, p. 155.

vain and bountiful to excess: a great patroness of poets, particularly of Dr. Donne, B. Jonson, Drayton, and Samuel Danyell, on whom she "rained sweet showers of gold," in return for which they were not sparing in their eulogy. She spent so much of her own and her husband's money upon Moor Park, in Hertfordshire (pronounced by Sir William Temple to be the "most perfect garden that he ever saw"), as to be obliged to sell it.<sup>1</sup> The "cousin" (*i.e.*, relative) killed by "young Mr. Ayloffe of Wilts" was, most probably, Mr. Francis Harington, son of Thomas Harington, of Boothby Pagnell, Co. Lincoln, who fell in a duel in 1623. One Mr. Arthur Samwell<sup>2</sup> is usually named as the principal antagonist by whom he was killed, so that young Ayliff would be implicated only as a promoter and abettor. Brawls and quarrels, especially among the Scottish and English courtiers, were of frequent occurrence at this period; and parties of young men under the names of "Roaring Boys" and "Roysterers" infested the streets of London at night, to the terror of the peaceful. It being the fashion also to wear swords, any provocation was immediately followed up by violence.

The next of this family given to enterprize and movement was one Mr. John Ayliffe, of whom this freak is mentioned in an original letter among Sir Richard Verney's MSS. correspondence:—<sup>3</sup>

"1673. Oct. 28. One merry story by the way. A *sabot* [French wooden shoe] was found on or under the Speaker's chair, with the Arms of England on the one side and of France on the other: with beads, &c., on one side, and 'Laws Liberty and Religion' on the other; with this motto 'Utrum horum mavis accipe' [*Chuse which you will have*].

"P.S.—It was one *Ayliffe* that did it, and as soon released as apprehended."

That his name was John we learn from another paper, in the Marquis of Bath's collection at Longleat:—<sup>4</sup>

"Original Petition to the King by *John Ayloffe* who stands charged with printing 'The Appeal' and 'The Votes of Parliament': and for having laid in a libellous manner a wooden shoe in the speaker's chair, for which he has suffered two years exile. Asks pardon."

<sup>1</sup> The engraved portrait of this lady is in Lodge's "Portraits," Vol. V.

<sup>2</sup> There was a marriage between the Samwell and Harington families.

<sup>3</sup> See Seventh Report of the Historical Commissioners, p. 491<sup>c</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Fourth Report of Historical Commissioners, p. 235<sup>a</sup>.

The wooden shoe with its emblems and motto, pretending to come from France, was probably meant as a warning to the English people, through their representatives in the House of Commons, of things having now come to such a pass that the choice lay between absolute monarchy under Papal influence, on the one hand, or Protestant freedom, on the other. It is therefore very likely that the facetious John Ayliffe who deposited the shoe was no other than the Colonel Ayliffe who shortly afterwards appeared in arms for this very cause, under the Duke of Argyle, who, in 1685 sailed from Holland to invade Scotland with the object of displacing James II. and setting the crown on the head of the Duke of Monmouth, the champion of Protestant liberty.

In the account of this unlucky affair it is stated that, besides his Scottish supporters, the duke was attended by "two Englishmen, Colonel Ayliffe, a nephew by marriage to Lord Chancellor Clarendon,<sup>1</sup> and Richard Rumbold, the maltster of Hertfordshire, famous for being concerned in "The Rye House Plot." The expedition failed; a fight took place at Killerne, near Dumbarton; Argyle and others were made prisoners. Some were hanged at once by my lord of Athole. Colonel Ayliffe and two preachers, who had taken part in the preliminary councils and done actual service in the invasion, were brought to Glasgow. Ayliffe was civilly used, and it was thought he might be saved, upon Lord Dumbarton's intercession. Ayliffe thought otherwise, and to anticipate the vengeance of his enemies, who, he was sure, would not spare him, "he got" [says Bishop Burnet] "a penknife into his hands and gave himself several stabs: and thinking he was certainly a dead man, cried out, '*Now I defy mine enemies.*'" But the wounds not being mortal, he was sent to London to be examined: under the idea of his being able to give much important information. "His relationship to the King's first wife<sup>2</sup> might perhaps be one inducement to this measure, or it

<sup>1</sup> It has been already mentioned in the text that Anne Ayliffe married Edw. Hyde. She was aunt to Colonel Ayliffe. See extract of pedigree printed at p. 201.

<sup>2</sup> Colonel Ayliffe was only connected with King James the Second's first wife, Ann Hyde, the chancellor's daughter, in this way. Ann Hyde's father, the chancellor, had married the colonel's aunt: but she had no surviving child. Ann Hyde was the chancellor's daughter by his second wife, Frances Aylesbury.

might be thought more expedient that he should be executed for the Rye House Plot. When examined he refused to give any information, and suffered death upon a sentence of outlawry which had passed in the former reign. King James examined him personally, and finding him sullen and unwilling to speak out, said, 'Mr. Ayliffe, you know it is in my power to pardon you, therefore say that which may deserve it': to which Ayliffe replied 'Though it is in your power it is not in your nature to pardon.'” He was hanged, drawn and quartered, before the Temple Gate in Fleet Street.<sup>1</sup>

The ignominy of being hanged depends very much upon what a man is hanged for: Colonel Ayliffe's death was no disgrace to him, for he was a victim for a cause which afterwards triumphed. The same cannot be said of the next of the name who ended his days in a similar manner—John Ayliffe, Esq., executed at Tyburn, 19th November, 1759.

The writing of this person's history is not a very pleasant or dignified occupation: but as our *Magazine* professes to preserve the memory of Wiltshire events and persons of former times, it seems not out of place to let our readers, who take interest in things long gone by, know, who this "Wiltshire esquire" was, why he was promoted to the gallows, and what the circumstances of his case were. It created at the time a very great sensation, not only in the country but in London: associated, as it was, with the respectable names of Ayliffe of Grittenham, Horner of Mells, Co. Somerset, and more especially with that of the Rt. Hon. Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland, one of the most conspicuous statesmen of the day.

A short distance before reaching the Wootton Bassett Station in going from Bath to London, the railway skirts Tockenham Park, a prettily-wooded bank rising on the right hand. The house is still standing, but is hardly visible from the railway. Beyond this is the village. At the beginning of the last century this place had belonged for some years to Matthew Smith, Esq., who had married the daughter of Edward Goddard, of Ogbourne St. Andrew. Their

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<sup>1</sup> For an account of this affair see "History of the Stuarts" (folio), p. 700, 707; C. J. Fox's "James II.," pp. 174, 180, 215; and Sir F. Graham's MSS. correspondence, Seventh Report Hist. Commiss., p. 379.

son, Mr. Goddard Smith, leaving no issue, his sister Mary became his heir, and married Mr. John Jacob, of The Rocks, near Colerne. By a subsequent marriage with an heiress of the Jacob family Tockenham descended to Sir Robert Jacob Buxton, Bart., of Shadwell Court, Co. Norfolk. Mr. Goddard Smith had in his service John Ayliffe, Sen., of an *illegitimate* branch of the Grittenham family. He married the housekeeper at Tockenham : and letters extant speak of them as perfectly respectable and honest persons. They had a son, the unfortunate John Ayliffe, whose career has to be described, and who was born at Tockenham about 1718 or 1719. Whether he was in any way taken up by the Grittenham family with the object of being ultimately adopted, or whether it was intended that he should be qualified to be a kind of companion to young Mr. Jacob, is not clear : but he certainly received an education above the rank of his birth, being sent to Harrow School. That school (founded in 1571) had then by no means approached its present celebrity ; but still it was one where a lad of humble connections would be sure to form ideas and associations above his natural rank. After leaving school, and having apparently not much immediate prospect, he applied for the mastership of a newly-founded charity school at Lyneham, close to his native place. He was at first thought too young, but ultimately obtained it.<sup>1</sup> In May, 1738, being hardly 20 years old, he married Miss Sarah Brinsden, daughter of the then Rector of Tockenham. Being very good-looking and of an extravagant and aspiring turn of mind he began to play the fine gentleman, and thereby earned among the neighbours the *sobriquet* of "The Squire." Teaching the young clod-hoppers of Lyneham how to spell was to his Harrovian tastes not nearly so fascinating as the sports of the field, and the consequence was that the landowners round about Lyneham School soon began to complain of his

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<sup>1</sup> The appointment was not of a very lucrative kind : about £10 a year. Ralph Broome, by his will, bearing date 14th February, 1715-16, gave unto the parish of Lyneham £450, to be laid out in lands, the income whereof to pay a schoolmaster, who should yearly teach not exceeding thirty poor children of that parish to read, write and cast accounts ; and instruct them in morality and the principles of the Christian religion, according to the Church of England grants.

using their fields without leave first obtained, and of his neglecting the school.<sup>1</sup>

Before very long he began to find himself in pecuniary difficulties, and his heart yearned towards the broad acres of Grittenham, which, for want of a male heir, were now in the hands of an unmarried lady. The last male owner of the Ayliffe estate, George Ayliffe, Esq., who died in 1712, had married Miss Judith Strangways, of Melbury, Co. Dorset: and her niece, Susanna Strangways, becoming heiress of Melbury, married Thomas Horner, Esq., of Mells Park, Co. Somerset. Mr. and Mrs. George Ayliffe were both dead before John Ayliffe was born: they left no son, and only one daughter, Judith Ayliffe, who on her parents' death became owner of Grittenham, and continued unmarried. It was this lady to whom John considered himself to be heir-at-law, though he must have known very well that, being of an illegitimate stock, his claim had no legal foundation. Miss Judith Ayliffe, however, taking no account of the unfortunate schoolmaster squire of Lyneham, left, at her death, all her estates to her first cousin, Mrs. Horner. That lady, again, had an only daughter and heiress, Elizabeth, who married Stephen Fox, Earl of Ilchester, and Mrs. Horner in her turn, instead of recognizing John Ayliffe, made over the Ayliffe property to Lord Ilchester, younger brother to Henry Fox.

Mr. Fox, wishing to do something for Ayliffe, obtained for him

<sup>1</sup> Among some old letters of the Jacob family is one written by Mr. Walker, of Lyneham, to Mr. Goddard Smith (uncle and guardian of young Mr. Jacob, of Tockenham), complaining of the poaching going on upon his lands:—

“1742. Dec. 10. I've been out five hours today and have seen but one hare. We daily find wires in the copses. I've had one watched for two nights without success. It was at last taken away by a *fine picked-toed shoe very like a Beau Schoolmaster's*. Indeed he is a sad fellow: his neglecting the school is so great an abuse of Charity I've resolved on my return to apply to Chancery. His confederates are West and Romin. Unless we break the knot, you must hunt nothing but red herrings. It is quite shocking at Bath to see at the poulterers at least twenty brace of hares daily, partridges and pheasants without number.”

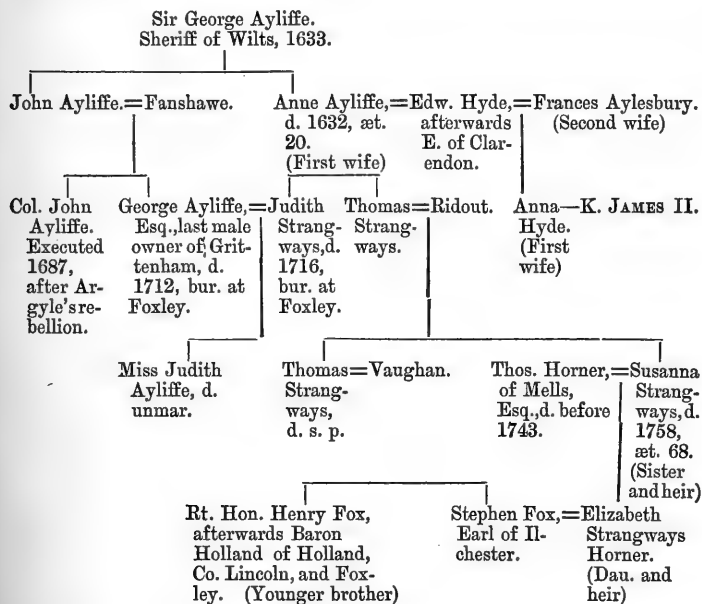
Mr. Goddard Smith, in reply, tries to appease the old gentleman's indignation: and continues:—

“As to the other” (the Beau schoolmaster) “I can say very little to it. I know he has been talked of, but I never had any reason from myself to think him guilty. I have often advised him and he has as often protested his innocence, but that is no argument of it. To be sure he has been a fool in other things and may be in this. I had a value for his father and mother and employ him in my own and my nephew's affairs, because I can't well do without him but have often told him, upon the first discovery I have done with him.”



a situation in the service of Mrs. Horner: and in this he so rapidly ingratiated himself with her as to become manager of her Melbury and other estates.

The following table explains the legal relation of the various persons mentioned in these transactions, John Ayliffe's name being, for obvious reasons, inadmissible:—



John Ayliffe's ideas now expanded much too magnificently for his means. Finding himself a person of importance in the county of Dorset as agent to the Strangways estates, he proceeded to build a fine house at Blandford, which he filled with expensive furniture, books, and pictures: forming altogether a collection so large as to require, when his downfall came, a 4to catalogue and six days' sale. He now also began to embark in sundry wild speculations: lost money in vain attempts to establish his claim on lands belonging to various persons: was cheated by money lenders, and in short became deeply involved. Then commenced his course of malpractices.

Certain acts were alleged for which Mrs. Horner might have prosecuted him: but she was unwilling to proceed to such extremities, and was content with dismissing him.<sup>1</sup>

Mr. Henry Fox nevertheless permitted him to continue steward of his Grittenham and other estates in North Wilts: and also obtained for him some small offices as Commissioner of Musters and Deputy Receiver in South Wales: and so late as 1757 writes to him in language indicating friendly confidence. The unfortunate man was, however, all the time greatly embarrassed, and continued to have recourse to bad methods for extricating himself.

Mrs. Strangways Horner died in the latter part of the year 1757.

More than a year after her death Ayliffe produced certain documents signed by Mrs. Horner, by which some time before her death she had charged her Melbury estate with the payment of £3000 to Ayliffe; besides the lease of a farm to him for three lives, as a provision for his wife and son. Lord Ilchester, then owner of Melbury, had never heard a word from her on the subject. Ayliffe accounted for this by saying that she had pledged him not to mention it until after her death, to save any possible personal dissatisfaction towards herself on the part of the Ilchesters. Mr. Fox, however, persuaded Ayliffe to drop that claim, and to accept in lieu of it another lease from himself for three lives, of a farm called Rushley, at the small reserved rent of £35 a year. This was in November, 1758. Ayliffe then borrowed £1700 from a Mr. Clewer, mortgaging to him the Rushley lease as the security for the loan: but to make the security appear stronger he had a *copy* of Mr. Fox's lease drawn out, in which he put down the amount of rent reserved to Mr. Fox as *five*

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<sup>1</sup> Mrs. Strangways was unfortunate in her stewards. Ayliffe's predecessor had been one Mr. Adam Tuck, a professional who lived at Langley, near Chippenham: who was also steward of Lord Cornbury's estate near Wootton Bassett: and Town Clerk to the corporation of that place. From that office he was dismissed for bribery, and on his departure disappeared also the charter and corporation books: the former of which was discovered in 1850 by Meiler Owen, Esq., of Denbighshire, in a box of papers belonging to a Captain Tuck. This Mr. Adam Tuck was doubtless the same person who was concerned in the imprisonment of the Sheriff of Wilts, in 1741, as mentioned in the *Wilts Arch. Magazine*, vol. iii., p. 228.

instead of *thirty-five*. To this fictitious document Ayliffe with his own hand attached Mr. Fox's name.

Being then sued by a different person—a Mr. Cruise, upholsterer of Devizes—for the sum of £300, and this, with other debts amounting to £1100, being pressed upon him, he was arrested and detained at an officer's house in Stanhope Street, Covent Garden, for six weeks. Meanwhile he had been so irregular in payment of interest to Mr. Clewer that Clewer applied to Mr. Fox to take the mortgage off his hands. Mr. Fox hesitating about this a discussion arose. Clewer produced the document which Ayliffe had given him, and the fraud was, of course, immediately detected.

Clewer then laid an indictment against him for forgery, and he was removed to Newgate. A trial followed. He was found guilty and sentenced to death.

Other frauds then came to light. One of the most inexcusable was his treatment of a particular friend, a clergyman of the name of Edwards. Ayliffe had prevailed on him to become security for a considerable loan: giving him a letter alleged to have been written by Mr. Fox, then patron of the living of Brinkworth, in which was a promise of the next presentation to Mr. Edwards. This was a forgery from beginning to end. The unfortunate clergyman was ruined, and died broken-hearted. In his pocket, after his death, was found this memorandum:—

“July 29, 1759. Wrote the following letter to John Ayliffe *Satan* Esq.

“Sir, I am surprized you can write to me after you have robbed and most barbarously murdered me. Oh! Brinkworth!

Yours, T. EDWARDS.”

Ayliffe was distracted by his situation: and in the absence of all composure of mind tried all kinds of appeal to Mr. Fox to interfere and save him: first menaces of disclosure of facts that would ruin Mr. Fox's reputation, and then the most piteous apologies. Lady Caroline Fox did what she could on his behalf, but Mr. Fox left him to his fate. Ayliffe made no very distinct expressions of penitence, except in a general way, and such as his consternation and the hope of reprieve elicited. The Chaplain of Newgate considered

him "a very weak man, with something more blended and wrought up with that weakness."

With respect to what was called "The Grand Deed" (viz., the deed by which Mrs. Strangways Horner had engaged to give him £3000, and an annuity) the chaplain (who published an account of Ayliffe's behaviour after conviction) says that he was very closely pressed by several gentlemen to tell the truth, but he would not even then admit anything to make it null and void. There is, however, at Melbury a private diary kept by the Lord Ilchester of that day, in which is the following entry, written 19th November, 1759, the day of Ayliffe's execution :—

"He forged various leases, and obtained many fraudulent leases and deeds of Mrs. Horner's particularly one giving him £3000, and 400 guineas annuity for three lives. This was called The Grand Deed: and he had the impudence to declare that it was obtained honestly; but when Death came very near him he was stung with remorse, and about two hours before he was hanged he wrote a paper voluntarily in which he declared that this deed was a fraud and imposition and that Mrs. Horner knew nothing about it."

His behaviour after sentence is thus described by the chaplain :—

#### "The Morning of EXECUTION.

"It is much to be wished we could assure the public he had spent the last night like a true penitent, sensible of the approaching period of his life! The decisive moment! in which his last lot must be cast for eternity. But, alas! no such matter; For,

"On enquiry, it was said he had been calling for his wife, ranting, raving, talking out of the window, more like one out of his senses than in his right mind; that though often intreated by one of the keepers [who watched with him] to be quiet and betake himself to his devotions, or to his rest, he could not be prevailed on either to read or pray; that they were alarmed at seeing him attempt to take something out of a bottle, which, on their doubt, and endeavour to prevent, the prisoner told them it was only a little *medicine*, but which, on tasting, was found to be a glass of some warm cordial to keep up his drooping heart; and that he did not sleep above two hours in the whole night. It was added, that one of the keepers

had helped him to several pints of water, which he drank in the night-time; the expected agonies of such a death having set him on fire, and parched him with thirst.

“On my going to his chamber, he appeared [after some little discourse and consolation] composed.—He readily went up to chapel and joined in the necessary devotions, received the holy communion with apparent attention, seriousness, and decency.

“After which a proper book of devotions was put into his hands, together with his Prayer-book; and he was desired to meditate on the most comfortable articles of our precious faith, and to pray for the graces most necessary for a dying person, as the most proper support and employment, all the way to the place of execution.

“After all the usual and proper offices of devotion and administration had been performed for him in the chapel, he desired I would abide with him some time in his chamber [after we had parted and taken leave in the chapel.] By this perhaps he partly intended to favour his hope of a reprieve. While these minutes were spent in private prayer, he was repeatedly sent for, and obliged at last to go down and have his irons knocked off, in order to be put in the cart.—This was not done till about half an hour after nine; an hour later than usual.

“In the way, it is said, he appeared sometimes reading and sometimes meditating in a quiet posture, without any emotion of body or mind till he came to the place of execution, when he appeared on his knees in the cart. Soon after his arrival there, by some unaccountable accident, whether of words spoken, or a paper appearing to be handed about, the word a *reprieve* was cried, caught, and repeated by some part of the surrounding multitude, till the belief prevailed for a minute or two, that he was reprieved, so far that some distant spectators went away directly and reported it in town, where I heard it after my return, and was obliged to explain and confute it.

“Meantime the poor man continued [apparently unconcerned and regardless of the outcry] on his knees, for which the executioner had given him an unusual liberty, by relaxing the rope on this rumour of a reprieve while the spectators imagined he was returning-

thanks, for this sudden [I will not say unexpected] deliverance from the jaws of death.

“Some explain this incident to be the effect of a contrivance between himself and a correspondent who sent him a letter, in hopes either of the mob taking the alarm at the word *reprieve*, and attempting to realize it by a rescue: or else that he might at least gain a little time, in which he imagined it possible a reprieve might come. This may account for his not being moved or surprized at the cry, as being *in the secret*; and seems to shew that he had a *scheming head* to the last.<sup>1</sup>

“In this interval a message was brought me to the coach, by a servant in livery, written with a pencil on a scrip of paper; *If Mr. Ayliffe has a desire to speak to Mr. Fannen [who was one of the principal witnesses against him] he is just at hand, and will come to him, and prays God to forgive him and have mercy on his soul.*

“When Mr. Fannen came to the cart, Mr. Ayliffe said, Oh, dear Mr. Fannen, pray give my duty to Mr. Fox and Lady Caroline, and thank them, and I am very sorry I ever did any thing to make Mr. Fox bring me to this end. I hope Mr. Fox forgives me. I answered, Mr. Fox had forgiven him from his heart long since, and I hoped he would find the same forgiveness from God Almighty, and that I hoped God would be merciful to him. He then said, Do pray for me, or do pray with me; after prayers, when he stood up, he said aloud, Oh dear Mr. Fannen pray what is to come of my body? I answered him really Mr. Ayliffe I don't know. I hope Mr. Fox will let me be buried; I made answer, that I dared say he had no objection to it.

“He then said again, Oh dear, dear Mr. Fannen, pray desire Mr. Fox to let me be buried at Redbourn in Hartfordshire, it is the place of my wife's nativity, and she will be buried there with me.<sup>2</sup> I answered I would tell Mr. Fox his request. About one minute before he was turned off, (or not so long quite) he cried out, Oh dear Mr.

<sup>1</sup> This is incorrect. It was a letter from his wife; which, however, at that moment he declined to read.

<sup>2</sup> A hearse and four horses was in waiting for this purpose, provided at Mr. Fox's expense.

Fannen, dear Mr. Fannen, as if he wanted to say somewhat more.”

The public were never quite satisfied with Ayliffe's execution. It seemed cruel on the part of Mr. Fox, considering that he was in the enjoyment of some thousands a-year from the Ayliffe estates, and that he sustained very little pecuniary loss, to allow a man to be put to death for altering £35 into £5 in his name and without his authority. They insisted upon it that Mr. Fox was eager to get him out of the way as being privy to some proceedings that would tell unfavourably against himself. Mr. Fox was not a popular man. He was a shrewd and clever politician, but not much liked. The following character of him is given by one who knew him well, but who, it is only fair to say, was at the same time his chief political opponent—William Pitt the elder, afterwards created Earl of Chatham, who “thought Mr. Fox the *blackest* man that ever lived; that he was a great dealer in anonymous letters to set people at variance with each other, and suggest to each such opinions as he thought convenient; that he carried it so far that, to his latter end, whenever he went about purchasing an estate, he had recourse to such methods of undervaluing it and deterring others from bidding for it; that he dealt much also in newspaper abuse, though he was continually complaining and crying about it; that he educated his children without the least regard to morality, and with such extravagant vulgar indulgence that the great change which has taken place among our youth has been dated from the time of his son's going to Eton. His letters to his sons still exist in his family, inciting them to extravagance.”<sup>1</sup> He was for a time Secretary of State and leader of the House of Commons, but the post to which he clung persistently amid all the changes was that of Paymaster of the Forces. When he consented to leave the House of Commons he still stipulated for keeping this office, and held it to 1765. “His next passion was covetousness; he had an opportunity of satisfying this to the greatest degree in the Pay Office, by taking proper advantage of the rise and fall of the public stocks with the public money, a great deal of which necessarily lay in his hands.”<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> “Life of William, Earl of Shelburne,” by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, Vol. I., p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> Ditto, p. 173.

The occasion, accordingly, was not neglected by the wits of the day. In a "Collection of Epigrams from Martial, *adapted* to the Nobility Clergy and Gentry," by the Rev. Mr. Scott, Trin. Coll., Cambridge, one addressed "*To Lord H-l-d,*" makes allusion to this affair:—

"Would I slip out and fling the Bailiff?  
As *somebody* once, 'tis said, did Ayliffe;  
No, not of Egypt were I Caliph!"<sup>1</sup>

But the severest hit came from Charles Churchill, a satirist whose productions were eagerly looked for and were in everybody's hands. It is said that a bribe was ineffectually offered, through Dr. Philip Francis (the translator of Horace), chaplain to Lady Holland, to stop the publication of the following verses:—<sup>2</sup>

#### AYLIFFE'S GHOST,

Or The FOX stinks worse than ever.

By CHARLES CHURCHILL.

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"*I'd take the Ghost's word for a thousand pounds.*"—HAMLET.

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#### RECITATIVE.

Who has not heard of *Reynard's* crafty tricks  
His pride, his rapine and his politicks;  
His ways and means to plunder King and State,  
Distress the needy and enrich the great?  
Then list! O list! while I a tale unfold,  
Shall make your hair erect, your blood run cold.  
At HOLLAND HOUSE, not far from this great City,  
Was acted lately this strange dismal ditty.

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<sup>1</sup> See "Notes and Queries," 3rd S., Vol. XII., p. 125. Also "New Foundling Hospital for Wit," Vol. I., p. 125, ed. 1781.

<sup>2</sup> Printed in the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1770, p. 478.



AIR.—*William and Margaret.*

T'was at that time when *Morpheus* reign'd,  
 And Screech Owls take their flight ;  
 When injur'd Spectres walk the earth,  
 The guilty to affright.  
 The clock had told the midnight hour,  
 When wrapt in winding sheet,  
 In glided *Ayliffe's* grimly Ghost  
 And stood at *Reynard's* feet ;  
 His face was like a Barber's block  
 When newly powder'd o'er ;  
 And round his neck, for solitaire,  
 A hempen string he wore.  
 Stretch'd out upon his bed of down,  
 The drowsy Statesman lay ;  
 In dreams revolving future schemes  
 His country to betray.  
 Three times the angry airy form,  
 The curtains hard did shake ;  
 And three times cry'd in hollow tone,  
*Awake ! Awake ! Awake !*  
 This unexpected awful sound  
 Soon reach'd the Villain's ear ;  
 Then like stern *Richard* in his tent  
 He started, pale with fear.  
 " Hah ! what, or who, or whence art thou  
 That thus offend'st my sight ?  
 Art thou corporeal, quickly say,  
 Or visionary sprite ? "  
 " Behold (return'd the throttled shade)  
 A face you well must know ;  
 By thee condemn'd to die with shame,  
 And suffer pains below.  
 What tho' I forg'd that fatal scrawl,  
 I only cheated you ;  
 But King and Country you have wrong'd ;  
 What will not Traitors do ?

On aged *Tyburn's* triple tree  
     A victim I was made ;  
 For fear my tongue should blab such truths  
     Would make thy Honours fade.  
 But soft—I scent the morning air,  
     Brief let me be—then know,  
 I came to tell thee whence I came  
     You soon must also go.  
 Nor all thy Art or wealth can e'er  
     Avert the strict decree ;  
 The same base hand that stretch'd my neck,  
     Shall do the same for thee.  
 Britannia's drooping sons once rid  
     Of thee, and *Scottish* Pride,  
 Again with joy shall raise their heads  
     And *Pitt*<sup>1</sup> shall be their guide."  
 Here stop't the shade, and quick as thought,  
     Dissolv'd itself in air,  
 And left the troubled *Man of State*  
     O'erwhelm'd with sad despair.

Henry Fox, Lord Holland, died in 1774: but Holland House was not even then purified from the bad odour of the Ayliffe case. A Mrs. Elizabeth Harriet Grieve, calling herself the "Hon. Mrs. Grieve," a swindler and impostor, had contrived, about the year 1773, to make a fool of Lord Holland's son, the well-known Charles James Fox, persuading him that she could introduce a wealthy heiress to him, by whose help he might get out of debt. Some time after, an extraordinary epistle, addressed to C. J. Fox, appeared in the "Westminster Magazine," in which were these lines:—

"Am I to hang for looking o'er the gate  
     While you the gelding steal, yet ride in state?  
 O Charles, thou vicious culprit of these times,  
     Were we rewarded justly for our crimes,  
 Many who thrive about a gentle King  
     Would in their ribbons upon Tyburn swing:

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<sup>1</sup> Created Earl of Chatham after the first publication of these verses.

For if great things with small compared may be,  
*The knot of Ayliff may attend on thee!*  
O sacred knot by which the good have died!  
Could I around thy neck but see it tied,  
Then transportation I'd embrace with joy,  
And gaze with transport on the dangling boy."

The portrait of John Ayliffe, in a fancy dress, from which the annexed photograph has been taken, is in the possession of Sir Robert Jacob Buxton, Bart., of Shadwell Court, Co. Norfolk.<sup>1</sup>

J. E. J.

[The Committee desire again to thank Canon Jackson for his liberality in presenting the photograph of his hero.—ED.]

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ON THE  
Occurrence of some of the Rarer Species of  
Birds in the Neighbourhood of Salisbury.

By the Rev. ARTHUR P. MORRIS, Vicar of Britford.

(Continued from Vol. xx., page 185.)

**W**HEN arriving at the Order of *Grallatores*, or "Waders," the writer at once feels that he is at a considerable disadvantage from the following reasons, *i.e.*, that to form any acquaintance with many of the species to be mentioned it requires, besides ornithological ardour (of which he has plenty), at least three items to bring a man within reach of the object of his search:—"time on hand," "a

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<sup>1</sup>The original portrait in oils had been removed some years ago, along with several other pictures, from Tockenham House. The card or ticket on it had been lost, and it was not known to the owner, who the person represented was. But upon being shewn again at Tockenham it was immediately identified. Thanks are due to Mr. W. F. Parsons, of Hunt's Mill, near Wootton Bassett—a member of the Wilts Archæological Society—for mentioning the existence of the portrait, and for some local traditional information relating to the subject of this paper.

strong constitution," and a "long pocket," neither of which requisites can he unfortunately lay claim to. For these birds can only be met with, at least the rarer ones of their order, amid the "waste and solitary place," or the damp and stagnant marsh, where the sound of no intrusive footstep breaks the brooding stillness of Nature; where the wary Heron or the skulking Rail enjoy their diurnal rambles or nocturnal watches without fear or thought of man's presence; spending their days in such complete seclusion that, at times, it forces the thought upon the mind, "Wherefore the use of their existence?" a thought, however, tinged with far too great an idea of man's own importance, and showing but a cramped and unloving perception both of the magnitude and liberality of God's creation; as though man himself was not only the last and best production, but also the sole cause and reason of all God's works; and giving no place to the thought of that all-embracing love in creative power which shines through the whole universe; and which is suggested in those miraculously-preserved words of Holy Writ, which describe the attitude of the Divine Creator at the end of the six days' work, "And God saw all that He had made, and behold it was very good." Nay! we can, after all, but fall back in faith upon the commonly-received truth, that everything in Nature has an allotted space to fill, and work to do; and to record the fact, rather than to explain it, which has been immortalised in those lovely and thought-suggestive words of our poet Grey:—

"Full many a gem of purest ray serene;  
The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear!  
Full many a flower is born to blush unseen,  
And waste its sweetness on the desert air."

Nature herself is stamped with the impress of the attributes of its Creator—munificence, prodigality, large-heartedness—leading the mind ever upward through its various links until it reaches God Himself, and until it exclaims with the Psalmist, "What is man that thou art mindful of him, or the son of man that thou visitest him?" for no man can view Nature with an appreciative eye, unless he becomes lost in wonder at the sublime vastness of its conceptions, and the marvellous forethought shown in its minutest details. No

wonder, then, that in whatever line of natural science the mind more especially may revel, it finds itself thrown back upon its own littleness, and is compelled to allow its own ignorance. The wisest man knows but little of God's works, and sees but skin deep into those natural laws which so admirably govern the elements of Nature, but which God holds in the hollow of His hand; and when therefore we allow ourselves to ask such a question as we have suggested, "What can be the use of such-and-such a creature, inasmuch as it in no way immediately ministers to man's use or comfort?" is it not in itself a sufficient answer to return, "In order to carry out the intentions of its Creator"? an intention, perchance, more sure of completion if at times man intermeddles not in its history; for God loves every work of His hand, and has created each for a definite purpose of His own.

But I must not thus digress, lest I be accused of sermonising, but return to the subject matter in hand, the "Grallatores," or "Order of the Waders." They are especially attractive, because they seldom intrude themselves upon our notice; and, deny it who will, there is an attraction in novelty, which is a thing "sui generis," and which attaches to everything around us. What ornithologist does not return from his outing in extra good humour with himself, and with the world in general, when he has secured—or even seen—a specimen he has never observed before? It is not that the bird is more curiously formed, or perhaps more beautifully-plumaged than many another he possesses, but it is partly the indescribable pleasure of breaking new ground, and of pondering, perchance, on the tale that that rare bird could tell, if it had a voice to recount its own history. Where may not have been its nesting-place! in the Arctic or the Torrid zone. O'er what far distant countries may it not have roamed! What sights may it not have witnessed which have been denied to the eye of man! even as suggested by the poet when contemplating the burial of Moses:—

"Perchance the bold old eagle on grey Beth Peors height,  
Out of his lonely eyerie looked on that wondrous sight."

Anyhow we may feel that that wandering specimen, which may have

met its untimely fate at our hands, has looked on many a vision which man's eye has never rested on, and visited many a shrine of Nature, which man's impious tread shall never desecrate; and we surround our newly-acquired prize with a fictitious value, with which our wandering and romantic imagination (if you will, my prosaic reader,) has invested it. Yes! it is not merely the selfish feeling of possessing a specimen which nobody else possesses; nor simply the good fortune which has accrued to you personally in the obtaining so highly-prized a rarity in the ornithological world, that enhances the value of the bird you turn over and over in your hand with fond and lingering eyes; but it is rather the mystery of its untold life, which has thus suddenly been brought into contact with your own, and the vague imaginings which throng in upon your mind as you inspect it.

#### GRUIDÆ.

*Grus Cinerea.* "The Crane." First and foremost in the list of the Grallatores stands the Crane; the sole representative of its family that is, or rather was, indigenous to our shores. It is a magnificent bird of some five feet in extreme length; making our better-known Heron look but a pigmy at its side. Amongst the village folk the Heron is very commonly called the Crane, just as they will term the Buzzard a Kite, or any kind of the smaller Falcons a Hawk; causing some confusion, and at times much disappointment, to the young ornithologist or collector. This species now-a-days is very rarely met with in our islands, though it seems to be scattered very generally throughout the length and breadth of the Old World. I remember when I was a boy at Winchester my ornithological ardour being excited by the account of three Cranes which had been frequenting for some time a place called Hele, near Exeter, and close to which my especial chum, Joseph Were, had one day managed to creep: and I well remember my taxing him with these Cranes being common Herons; and he as vigorously asserting that they were veritable Cranes, inasmuch as he knew both the species well, and was quite aware of the extreme rarity of the latter birds. The nearest authenticated instance I can hear of

is a fine mature specimen which was shot on the Wareham river by a gunner, on May 18th, 1869, and which is now in the collection of Mr. H. J. Panton, of Wareham. Another specimen stands recorded in Mr. E. Hart's notes (the well-known naturalist of Christchurch) as having been killed by a Mr. Bullock, of Iford, on the river Stour, in the year 1825. A young bird of the year was killed about 1862 by Mr. Haddon, of Taunton, on the moor at North Curry, not far from that town. This specimen, which is now in Mr. Haddon's collection, where I have often seen it, is an immature but good-plumaged bird. He and a friend of his detected it from its large size a long way off upon the moor, and managed to get within shot easy by driving a large herd of cows slowly towards it, under cover of which they crept up to it. The Crane is one of those birds in which the migratory instinct, if you like to call it so, is so extraordinarily developed. So punctual is it in its migrations that it is said never to vary more than a day or two in the time of its flight during the October month, and that it has been observed to travel, or pass, over a certain spot, within a thousand yards right or left, for many years in succession without variation. Thus it is mentioned in Scripture, as my readers will remember, for our example, as knowing and obeying unfailingly the unwritten law of its Maker.

#### ARDEIDÆ.

*Ardea Garzetta.* "Little Egret." This elegant and picturesque little bird is quite a rare and occasional visitant to our shores, though I believe more frequently found formerly than now. The only specimen I can hear of is one killed by a William Lockyer on the river near Christchurch, in 1822, and which is now in Hart's museum.

*Ardea Cinerea.* "Heron"—"Jack," as he is christened by the people. Common as it is on the banks of most of our rivers, and all round our coasts, it is a bird you cannot but stay and mark as it passes high over your head with its steady flopping flight, or calls your attention to its presence by its loud hoarse cry in the distance. It is quite common in our immediate neighbourhood, as there is a small heronry in the parish, in Longford Park, belonging to the

Earl of Radnor. The nests are built on the tops of the tallest beech trees, from one of which my gardening boy who was then with me extracted, at the risk of his neck, an egg for my collection. When he reached the summit he found in the nest three half-grown fledglings and one addled egg, which answered my purpose as well as any other. I have counted as many as thirty-three congregated in our water-meadows at one time, which I think must have comprised nearly the whole of the heronry. On one occasion I surprised "Jack" vigorously pecking at some prey in one of our smaller "drawings," and on frightening him up I found he had just killed a nice eel of more than 11b. weight, which I took home for my dinner instead of his. I have been often startled, on returning from Duck-shooting in the gloaming, by the unearthly and weird noise they make as you suddenly surprise them from some favorite fishing-ground. A kind of suffocated screech emanates from their throat, as though they were in the act of strangulation, emitted hastily and spasmodically, before, as it were, they can find the full play of their lungs; the sound appearing to struggle for exit from their gullet between the mass of undigested fish they have cleverly stowed away. It is most amusing sometimes to watch the tactics of a pair of Crows, which will most perseveringly mob some unfortunate Heron as it rises gorged from the side of the water. One will dart upon it from above, the other from beneath, making it twist and twirl and utter the most pitiful cries for help; pursuing it relentlessly with the apparent purpose of making it disgorge some of its prey, that they may descend and feed upon it at their leisure. I have often watched their proceedings, reminding one of some similar scene, often enacted in former days at school, where two bullies will pitch into some hulking lout, who has never learnt, or if so, has not the pluck to use, the noble and necessary art of self-defence. The plumage of the adult bird is very pleasing and graceful, the head and back being adorned with long feathery plumes, while long black feathers depend from the head, nearly reaching the back as it stands in an erect posture, rendering it very unlike the uniform grey of the immature bird of the year.

*Ardea Ralloides.* "Squacco Heron." A rare and occasional



visitant from warmer climates, such as the south of Europe and Egypt. I have a note of one that was killed at Boyton, in Wilts, in 1775. Another specimen was shot on June 8th, 1832, near Christchurch, which is now in Mr. Hart's collection. A third was shot by a Mr. Jackson, at Encombe, in the Wareham district, on May 5th, 1865. His attention was first drawn to it by seeing a flock of Rooks mobbing some strange bird, as they often will, and he succeeded in stalking and procuring it. It is rather a small bird compared with many others of its tribe, being in length about 17 inches. It would seem by no means a shy or timid bird, and is very fond of associating with cattle. Meyer observes that in Hungary it is often found keeping company with large droves of swine.

*Ardea Stellaris.* "The Bittern." One of our most handsome and attractive birds, and one that would be by no means uncommon were it not for the incessant drainage of all its chosen haunts. The first one I ever saw, and which I recognised by a kind of ornithological instinct, was in Yarnton Withy-bed, between Godstow and Ensham, when I was at Oxford. It rose within fifteen yards of me, with a perfectly noiseless flight like that of an owl; but what was my dismay, when my watch chain caught in the hammers of my gun, and it sailed away unsaluted. I spent a useless hour hunting every hedge and cranny within a mile of the spot, but not then knowing sufficiently the habits of the bird, I could not flush it a second time; and two days after I had the vexation to see it lying in the stuffer's shop, it having been killed by a Christchurch man in the very same withy-bed from which I had flushed it. I undoubtedly missed finding it the second time because I looked too far ahead, instead of at my feet, in the same way that you so frequently overlook a hare in its form, which you as often kick up with your foot as discern by the eye; and this Bittern had undoubtedly dropped in again at the end of the same withy-bed, where there was a patch of thick rushes which I never properly beat out. In 1861, when I was a curate near Taunton, I remember a bargee running into Mr. Haddon's shop, who was a great bird-fancier, and telling him that he had just seen a yellowish bird as big as a hen standing in some

rushes close to the town, on the bank of the river Tone. On hearing it my friend at once left his counter, and took his gun, and in ten minutes returned with a fine Bittern, which is now in his collection. In some seasons they are numerous in suitable places. In the winter of 1875-6 three were killed on our river Avon; one just at the back of the Vicarage, by F. M. E. Jervoise, Esq.; a second, by the Hon. Duncombe Bouverie; and a third, by Mr. J. Taunton. In the same season five more were procured from the neighbouring river, the Test. Christchurch Harbour is a favorite landing-place for them at their migrations. On one occasion a boy ran in and told one of the gunners that there was a fowl in one of the clumps of rushes fringing the river, and that he had been pelting it with stones but could not make it move; it turned out to be, as he thought, a Bittern, which was soon brought in. Another pair, about the same time, were killed by a gunner right and left as they flew over his head in the evening. In one season, about twelve years ago, they were so numerous that Hart had more than thirty specimens sent in to him from various quarters. And again, in 1879, he had ten specimens sent in between December 3rd and December 16th, besides one or two others previously. Its being so seldom seen is easily accounted for by its never willingly showing itself during the daytime; and also from the extraordinary postures it assumes when hiding in the rushes, so that it looks, even if the eye happens to light upon it, more like a patch of dead rushes than a living bird. It will never take wing unless actually compelled, and will often escape being flushed by a dog, by clutching hold of the rushes with its long claws, and thus drawing itself up beyond reach of danger.

*Ardea Minuta.* "Little Bittern." Sometimes, doubtless, overlooked from its "littleness." The adult male is a very pretty little bird, showing a beautiful mixture of olive greens and buff. The young bird, however, is entirely different, being streaked and spotted with ochrous browns. I have various notices of its occurrence. Mr. Baker tells me one was killed at Stourton, in 1820, by Jacob Riddick, a gamekeeper of Sir R. C. Hoare, a mature male bird. One very good adult specimen was killed here in the parish by James Butler,

the keeper, about 1850-1. This is now in the possession of F. M. E. Jervoise, Esq., at Herriard Park; but is a good deal faded in its plumage. Another specimen—a young bird in its immature garb—was shot by Mr. Haddon, of Taunton, not far from where he procured the larger Bittern mentioned before; about the same time as the other. One was killed at Herne Court, in April, 1862, by George Bacon, a keeper of Lord Malmesbury's, in whose possession the bird is. A fifth specimen was procured at Wilton, by Mr. C. Parham, on September 8th, 1869. While at Christchurch a good pair were shot on June 15th, 1869, by Cull, a gunner, which are now in Mr. Hart's collection. He is fortunate also to be possessed of another equally good pair, the female of which was shot by Mr. E. Elliot, in May, 1869, while the male bird was killed by Hart himself, at Gargoinge, on Easter Monday, April 22nd, 1878. One day an officer, staying in the neighbourhood, came into Hart's museum, and seeing the Little Bittern amongst his birds, enquired of what species it was, as he had shot one only the day before, and could not make out what bird it was he had killed. Hart replied that if he did not particularly value it he should be happy to give him five guineas for it, if it was a good specimen, as a gentleman wanted one badly for his collection, and had given him an order to get one. But the officer (who was evidently not an ornithologist) had given it to his servant, who had eaten it the night before for his supper, but had not found it, I expect, an over-savoury morsel. It only occurs amongst us in the warmer months, generally in the spring and autumn, as it avoids cold and frost. It is said to be a most pugnacious little fellow; and twists and contorts itself into the most unnatural positions, so that it often escapes detection, even when surprised in an unsheltered spot.

*Ardea Lentiginosa.* "American Bittern." A very rare visitor to our islands indeed, and only occurring at long intervals. Hart has one in his collection, but he cannot give definite information about it: but he believes it came from the Devonshire coast in his father's time. It is in any case a British specimen. One of these birds occurred, however, in the New Forest, as communicated in "*The Field*" in 1876, which I believe, is quite reliable; and only

in last month the same paper mentions one killed in County Down, on November, 18th, of the present year (1883), in which county it also appeared in 1845—specimens also having been obtained in Louth in 1868, 1870, and 1875. These certainly are not local specimens, but worth mentioning in passing.

*Ardea Nycticorax*. "Night Heron." A bird widely diffused but not often found in Britain. A young male was killed by Turner-Turner, Esq., at Avon Castle, some four miles up the river, on August, 4th, 1880. Another was killed at Christchurch, in 1836, by J. Sloman, Esq. Hart himself has a good pair in his collection, one of which, a female, was killed at Ringwood, on July, 22nd, 1868, by W. Emis, and the other, a very good adult male, in the Christchurch meadows on August 7th, 1879, by Charles Campbell. I have never handled one of these birds myself, but I have a very good specimen of its first cousin, the Nankeen Night Heron from Australia, which was given me kindly by the late Mrs. Prior, of Salisbury. It is a most beautifully-coloured bird, exactly of the same size and appearance as our British species, but the general colour of the bird is of a lovely cinnamon brown, instead of the grey tint prevalent in our own species.

*Ciconia Alba*. "Stork." It is more than curious that, whereas these birds are so common on the other side of the Channel they should so very rarely be known to visit our shores. From whatever cause, however, it proceeds, it is certain that very few of my readers will be able to say that they have seen a White Stork with their own eyes on British soil. Perchance they are waiting for the accommodation of the Channel Tunnel to afford them a passage on dry land, not caring for so lengthy a flight. But perhaps the real reason is that they are so inhospitably received when they do come, that none are left to represent their species amongst us; for they would not certainly be held in the same veneration with us as they are on the other side of the water, where they are not only superstitiously preserved, their lives being quite as inviolable as a fox's in our own country, but breeding-places are often said to be erected for them near the farm-yards, which are annually repaired and kept in order, inasmuch as

it is considered an omen of ill luck indeed should these birds desert a breeding-place they have once pitched upon. I am able, however, to record two notices of its occurrence more recently among us. A good specimen, a male, was killed by Hart in the early autumn of 1881, which he has now preserved in his Museum. He had gone out early in the dusk of the morning, when being some fifty yards below the town quay at Christchurch he perceived several large birds passing over his head, and on firing brought down the bird in question. There were, he believed, two others with it, but the light was too indistinct for him to speak for certain. The second specimen was killed at Codford, in this county, on September 5th, 1882. It was shot (as I am informed by Mr. White, the taxidermist who set it up, and who now lives in Fisherton Street, Salisbury,) by Mr. Cole, of Codford, on a chimney-stack in his premises. It is still, I believe, in his possession, and naturally greatly valued by him.

Meyer relates a very curious anecdote, recorded in a German newspaper, illustrating the wonderfully strong affection this species has for its young. "A house, on the top of which was a Stork's nest containing young birds, took fire. In the midst of the conflagration the old birds were seen flying to and from the nest, and plunging into a neighbouring piece of water, in which they soaked their feathers, and returning again and again to the nest sprinkled the water over their young in such abundance that they not only preserved their young ones, but saved from destruction that part of the building on which the nest was situated."

Their plumage, when in good feather, is very pleasing from its strong contrasts—the pure white of its entire plumage being strikingly set off by the pure black of the quill feathers, and the bright scarlet of its formidable beak and legs.

*Ciconia Nigra*. "Black Stork." A much rarer bird than the preceding, both in our own island and also across the Channel. There is a fine specimen of this bird, however, in Lord Malmesbury's collection at Herne Court, which was killed, as Hart informs me, on Friday, November 22nd, 1839, by a clay-boat man on the south side of Poole Harbour. There was also another procured in 1849,

I believe from the same spot, but I have not been able to discover its whereabouts.

*Platalea Leucorodia.* "Spoonbill." This bird, so unmistakable both from the whiteness of its plumage and the peculiar shape of its bill, is not of such quite rare occurrence amongst us as would be at first sight supposed. Until lately few years passed without some specimens being observed at the mouth of the Avon, or on the mud flats of the Solent; and it may be hoped that the recent restrictions of the Birds Preservation Act may tell considerably in its favour. One was killed at Seaton, on the banks of the Axe, by a coast-guardsmen, in 1870, and is now in the collection of Mr. E. Baker, of Mere. At Christchurch Hart has not unfrequently met with them. Two specimens were killed there in 1857; another in 1863; a third, in the same neighbourhood, in October, 1864; a fourth on January 3rd, 1869. Another very good specimen haunted the Solent and the harbour for a considerable period in 1876, and was at last shot by Hart himself, near Hurst Castle, in the August month. This specimen is now in his Museum. Since that Hart has noticed three birds in the harbour, which escaped the hands of the gunners; and in 1878 he got within twenty yards of another bird of the same species, which also went away unmolested.

*Ibis Falcinellus.* "Glossy Ibis." This bird, like the former, has not been unfrequently procured from the mud flats of Poole and Christchurch harbours, which in spring and autumn are so admirably adapted for arresting for a time many of the water birds in their migratorial flights. The plumage of this bird is most effective, reflecting, as it does, one mass of metallic lustre, of dark green, purple, and deep red. I remember a beautiful specimen of this bird being shot, when I was a boy, in the peat moors of Shapwick, which lie between Glastonbury and Bridgewater, about the year 1850. A pair of these birds were also seen flying over the town of Odiham, near Basingstoke, in 1881, by a Mr. Forster, a photographer. One of these birds was shot, a few days after, on September 24th, by an under-gamekeeper of Sir H. Mildmay's, at the lake in Dogmersfield Park, while another was killed, a few days later, in Norfolk, possibly the remaining specimen. They have been frequently

procured from Poole. About the year 1856 there were several about there. In 1859 Mr. Hart's father killed a pair in the harbour. Another was shot at Wareham, on October 22nd, 1860, and four more from the same district in 1870. And there were other specimens procured besides these. The most recent occurrence was one at Christchurch, in 1876, a very good bird, which Hart has in his collection.

## SCOLOPACIDÆ.

*Numenius Arquata.* "Curlew." So called from the shrill cry that it utters, resembling in some degree the name it bears. Occasionally met with in our parish and district. I remember a few years ago, as I was walking down Catharine Street, in Salisbury, on a dark still night, hearing a flock of Curlew passing over the town. The glare of the town lights had, doubtless, attracted them, and their reiterated cry overhead was most fascinating to the ear, now sounding directly over your head, so that it caused you to peer into the darkness, in a vain endeavour to discern it; and now dying away in the extreme distance, like a far-sounding echo. They apparently circled round for some time, for it was many minutes ere the last note died away upon the ear. These birds are exceedingly wary, and difficult to approach, and as they never shelter themselves in herbage, it is not an easy matter to obtain a specimen just when you want one. Sometimes you may make a successful drive, by ensconcing yourself behind some bank near the shore, while they are started from their feeding-ground a little way inland. But you must pit your wits against theirs anyhow. The only one I ever shot myself was on Sturt Island, a mud flat about a mile off Burnham, where, having dug a hole in the sand at high tide, we waited for the ebb of the water. I managed to obtain a shot at one in this way, but the bird, being hard hit, flew out to sea, and dropped dead in the water some two hundred yards off, and having no dog with me I lost it. Some few years ago three birds of this species frequented our water-meadows for some little time; they were shot by James Butler, the keeper, who was a thorough sportsman, and grudged no pains in stalking any bird he wished to procure. I had

been often told that these birds bred occasionally on our downs, and was promised some eggs by a person who unhesitatingly affirmed so; but when they were sent they turned out to be the eggs of the Stone Curlew, or Norfolk Plover, as I had all along imagined they would be found to be, as they generally nest far more north, in the North of Scotland, and even, I believe, in the Arctic circle.

*Numenius Phaeopus.* "Whimbrel." "Jack-curlew," as they are sometimes called, from their bearing to the Curlew the same relationship as to size and appearance that a Jack-Snipe does to a Whole. "May-birds" they are called by the gunners in the Bristol Channel, from their usual appearance on the coast during their migratorial flight in and about that month. It is not uncommon round our coasts in the spring and autumn, and is often seen at the mouth of the Avon. This bird is always connected in my mind with one of the most interesting days in my ornithological rambles. Having heard a wonderful report of the number and variety of birds that resorted at low water to the mud flats round Burnham, I started for that purpose early one morning, with some other enthusiastic bird collectors, in the May of 1861, and crossing over to Sturt Island at high water, we dragged our boat up on the shingle, and prepared for action. The tide in the estuary there recedes at low water to the extent of some 40 feet! leaving miles of mud banks and sand flats, the delight of innumerable species of water birds and wildfowl. We posted ourselves at different parts of the island, and having dug holes in the sand and made a slight breastwork of sea weed and other debris, to form a partial screen around us, we hid ourselves therein and waited patiently for the tide to recede. At that time there was not a bird in sight, saving a solitary Oyster Catcher, whose nest we found shortly afterwards close by, and a flock of Bald Coots swimming about on the water some hundred yards off shore. I could not help saying to my friend "I'm afraid we've come on a fool's errand after all." But he replied "wait a bit, and you will see"; and our patience was well rewarded. No sooner did the ebbing tide leave a small margin between high water mark and the receding wavelets than flocks of



birds began to wheel around and above us. First came the Dunlin, or Purre, in clouds, flying so close and thick together that with a double discharge you could have "filled a hatfull," as the old gunner said who was with us. Mixed with them were the Ringed Dotterel, and a little apart were small parties of Sanderling. The Purple Sandpiper also put in an appearance here and there, and a rather larger bird to be noticed among the others now and then, declared the presence of the Turnstone. As the tide still further receded the Oyster Catcher, in his pied plumage, flew over your head in small parties, peering down upon you with its painted bill hanging down at right angles to his body, whilst our friends the Maybirds, or Whimbrel, were scattered over the sands in some numbers, enlivening the scene with their shrill whistle. Far over your head, and the first to detect you in your hiding-place, was the watchful Curlew, only one of which came within shot, as I have recorded in the last paragraph, and which fell dead far out to sea; while Gulls of various sorts, and also the swallow-tailed Tern, added their presence and cries to the rest. Soon the tide, receding very rapidly as it does in the estuary, left our hiding-places far out of gun-shot, and sallying forth we traversed the flats in different directions, in search of whatever species we might come across. Soon a new sight greeted us. Flocks of hundreds of Ducks appeared on the scene. The Mallard with his partner came in scores; the Widgeon in flocks of twenty or thirty; the red-headed Pochard, Tufted Duck, and other varieties, while here and there, amid the throng of Anatidæ several pairs of the beautiful and unmistakable Shield-drake added variety and colour to the mass of birds, which otherwise looked like dark patches of weed where they alighted. In vain, however, we tried to add any of these to our bag. There was no kind of cover for us to make use of, and although they allowed us at times to creep up within some hundred yards or so, they invariably at that distance took wing and circling round pitched again some mile or more off, in perfect security upon the wide-spreading sands. And now some hours had glided by, and the tide had once more begun to flow, when a new species of bird I had not before observed attracted my attention, the Grey Plover, winging its way with such rapidity of

flight as to render ineffectual the one or two shots I poured in upon them from a long distance off. So engrossed was I in my pursuit, that I quite forgot my time and reckoning, and all of a sudden noticing a difference in the appearance of some sand banks, I looked round, and to my dismay found that the tide had been coming in in strides, every wave covering three or four yards of fresh ground, and quickly threatening to cut off my escape to my companions. These I descried some half-mile off, waving their hats and shouting lustily to attract my attention, as they had already got the boat afloat again, and were all in it. Putting my best leg forward I ran at the best pace I could muster, and managed to reach the boat just in time, having, however, to wade knee-deep to get into it. Our bag, though not heavy, was a varied one, consisting of Whimbrel, Grey Plover, Oyster Catcher, Sanderling, Ringed Dotterel, Dunlin, Turnstone, and the one Curlew, which, however, we lost; and the pair of Whimbrel now in my collection constantly recall this, one of the pleasantest reminiscences of the time of my first curacy in Somerset.

*Totanus Fuscus*. "Spotted Redshank." At once to be distinguished from others of its tribe by its long slender legs. By no means common, although they have been occasionally met with in Christchurch Harbour. One was shot there by a gunner named Caines, on September 6th, 1875, and another on September 8th, 1877, by Hart himself; while other nice specimens in transition plumage were also killed by Hart at the mouth of the sand-bar in 1881. I see a notice in the *Field* for last month (November, 1883,) of one killed out of a flock of seven in Norfolk.

*Totanus Calidris*. "Redshank." Not uncommon on our sea coasts and suitable localities. It is a very pretty bird, able to be detected at once from its congeners by the predominant white of its feathering, and its long red slender legs. It runs very daintily on the tops of its toes, scarcely touching the ground with the ball of its foot. You can also detect it amongst others by its peculiar manner of alighting on the ground, always turning up its wings, and showing the white under surface, as you sometimes see the Green Plover doing on a fallow. I noticed a great quantity of these

birds last summer in company with the Curlew, on the sand flats at the mouth of the Blackwater, near Youghal, in Ireland.

*Totanus Ochropus.* "Green Sandpiper." A bird always to be found in the water-meadows round Salisbury. When I say always, I think I can say I have seen them in every month here except June. There would seem to be a mystery in some folks' minds concerning the locality of their breeding-places. I have heard it confidently asserted that they make use of old crows' nests and other similar places for the purposes of nidification, which would seem highly improbable, from the habits and structure of the bird, it seeming far more probable that it hides its nest so cleverly amongst the herbage and thick grass of the places it inhabits that it is but rarely found. It would seem, anyhow, to travel northwards for breeding. I have often shot it, and seen it shot, in our Britford meadows, where there are very favourable opportunities for stalking it, owing to the high banks of the "carriages" that intersect them in every direction. It is a solitary bird, and you rarely flush more than one or two at a time, though I have seen four or five on the wing together occasionally. It requires very accurate marking down, for it generally flies very low under the cover of the bank ere alighting; and unless you mark the exact spot it pursues the same tactics on rising, and then, when it is out of shot, it rises suddenly into the air with a zig-zag flight, uttering its shrill clear cry, and continues circling round for some time until, having selected its spot to alight on, it darts down precipitately, with closed wings like a ball, breaking its fall by a few sharp turns to the right and left ere it actually pitches. Its plumage is very pretty, the snowy white of its tail coverts marking it at once from any other bird of its species, as it stands out in strong contrast from the dark olive green, which is the general tint of its upper feathering. It is sometimes called here the Summer Snipe, as well as its first cousin, the common little Brown Sandpiper.

*Totanus Glareola.* "Wood Sandpiper." Rare amongst us, but a bird which is liable at times to be mistaken for the former species. There is one difference, however, which will at once enable anyone to distinguish between the two birds (as detailed to me by

Cecil Smith, Esq., of Lydeard House, near Taunton, author of the "Birds of Somerset"), *i.e.*, that, whereas in *T. ochropus* the axillaries are dark with white markings, in *T. glareola* they are just the reverse, being white with dark markings. The general appearance of the two birds is otherwise somewhat similar, though *T. glareola* is much more spotted on the back than the other. [There is also a third species, very like this, which has, however, only once been recorded as having visited us (and that on the banks of the Clyde, I believe), *T. solitarius*, or the Solitary Sandpiper, but in this species the tail coverts are dark instead of white, unlike those in the Green and Wood Sandpipers.] I came across a nice specimen of *T. glareola* in Reading, a year or two ago, when Harbor, the naturalist, showed me one of these birds; he not being sure as to what it really was, but calling it a Summer Snipe. It was killed by a Mr. Tarrant, of Hartley Row, about the year 1874. Three or four occurrences of these birds have been noted at Christchurch; one in January, 1864, two in 1868, in the August month, and another on August 19th, 1873, now in Hart's collection.

*Totanus Hypoleucos*. "Common Sandpiper." Found scattered in the summer months along the banks of almost all our rivers, but not in any numbers together. I see them every summer in this parish, but have never found their nest, which is always most carefully hidden. No bird fancier would overlook this pretty but sober-coloured little wader, as it skims along the surface of the water with arched and half-expanded wings, or as it trips along the margin, or runs lightly over the water-weeds in front of you. This is the genuine Summer Snipe, a name given commonly to any other Sandpiper which may fall into the hands of a partial observer, such as the last two species commented on. This summer I had a skin of the young of the Spotted Sandpiper given me from America, which so exactly resembles our common bird that I could not for some time believe it to be a specimen of the spotted sort, of which I can gain no tidings in these parts. But the great similarity which exists between the young of both species may sometimes have caused the rarer one to be overlooked and mistaken for the other.

*Totanus Glottis*. "Greenshank." A bird that always causes a

dissatisfied feeling to arise within me; inasmuch as I lost a specimen which I had had given me from Berkshire, together with some other forty skins of various birds, through the negligence of a bird-stuffer at Taunton; and further, because I failed to make the most of an opportunity of securing some specimens of these birds, when a little more patience might have brought success. I was out Rook-shooting in the parish in May, 1865, when the old "drowner," knowing that I was a lover of birds, called out to me and said, "There be some main funny birds down in Sixteen Acre; there I've been fifty year or more in the meadows, and ne'er saw any like 'em before—and they've bided there by the water this three or four days. I seed 'em now, just as I come along." This was enough for me. Leaving the Rooks to their fate, I sallied down to the Sixteen Acre, and sure enough descried three birds, standing quite still by the margin of a flooded "drawing." They were evidently wide-awake, and the question was how to get near them. I saw, however, that by making a detour of some half-mile or more, I could get behind a small piece of hedge that had been left standing in the meadows, and from which I judged them to be about fifty yards off, and after some delay I reached it in safety. On peering through there were the birds, exactly as they were when I first saw them, not moving a muscle, as we should say were we describing a man's face. They were evidently just out of shot of me, and what was to be done? After waiting half-an-hour or more, and they making no sign, my patience became exhausted, and thinking that by good luck I might possibly cripple one, I aimed high and let fly. The shot peppered the water all around and beyond them, but, alas! with no effect, and off they flew, being saluted with my second barrel, as they passed high over my head, but with a similarly nil result. I watched them till I lost sight of them, and in high dudgeon I was preparing to leave the scene of action, when to my utter astonishment I saw them once more descending with wonderful velocity, and throwing themselves violently from side to side to break the impetus of their fall, they expanded their wings to their full extent, and alighted exactly in the same place from whence they had risen. It was a regular case of "Slap bang,

here we are again," and there was I again in the same fix that I was before. I waited, however, until I was so stiff and cramped that I was obliged to change my position somewhat abruptly, and being more wide-awake than they were before, off they were again, and that day I saw them no more. However my ornithological ardour was thoroughly aroused, and I determined to go again the next morning, on the chance of their being once more at their favourite halting-place; and having secured the aid of a young brother-in-law we sallied out before breakfast, and on arriving at the spot, to my intense delight, there they were again, within a foot of the same spot. I made the same long detour as before, as that was the only possible chance of getting near them at all, and reached my covert in safety, whereupon my brother-in-law walked down straight upon them, and tried to drive them over my head. But, alas! the fates were unkind, and they passed over my head at the same discreet distance as before, some eighty or ninety yards off, and it being before the days of choke-bores, I saluted them with a despairing right and left, and they came no more to their favourite "drawing." I saw a beautiful pair of these birds also, in 1859, on the North Curry Moor, in Somerset, keeping company on the flooded waste with a flock of some thirty Teal. I watched them with great interest for some time through a good telescope, but they were far too wary to approach. They occur frequently at Poole and Christchurch, too frequently for individual notice. Hart killed a beautifully-plumaged bird on October 25th, 1881, at Blackberry Point, at Christchurch; and three others were obtained on August 8th, 22nd, and 24th, 1882, in the harbour.

*Recurvirostra Avocetta*. "Avocet." One of the most strikingly-marked birds amongst all the Waders, from its clearly defined black and white plumage, and also remarkable for the peculiar shape of its bill, which is turned up the wrong way! instead of down, as in the Curlew and Whimbrel. I have a nice specimen in my collection, which was one out of four, killed near Eastbourne, about 1870. Time was when they were not uncommon at the mouth of the Thames, and on the mud flats, and estuaries of our rivers, but now, like so many others of their tribe, they are but

occasionally seen. Hart has two nice pairs in his collection, killed in the harbour. One pair was killed by a gunner on September 25th, 1872, the other pair being shot by Stride, on November 28th, 1879. Besides these a specimen was obtained from the harbour on May 4th, 1865; another, on March 20th, 1867, by a fisherman; and a third, on January 3rd, 1869, by a Capt. Bretton. They are said to be plentiful in Holland, so that it is a wonder they are not oftener met with on our side of the Channel, but perhaps the universal persecution they meet with is sufficient to account for it.

*Himantopus Melanopterus.* "Black-winged Stilt." A great rarity, and such a one as nobody could certainly mistake for any other species. Its length of leg is unparalleled in any bird of its size, and is as peculiarly characteristic in flight, as when the bird is on the ground, for, carrying them as it does straight out behind it, they look like some appendage tied on to its body. Hart has a good specimen in his collection, but cannot give date or circumstances, although he has but little doubt that his father obtained it somewhere in the neighbourhood. The bird has also been seen in Poole Harbour.

*Limosa Melanura.* "Black-tailed Godwit." An occasional visitant in the spring months to Christchurch. Hart tells me they were to be seen in unusual numbers there in 1875, and on May 10th of that year he shot five himself in the Solent. Another was picked up wounded, on the same day, by Montague Baily, Esq., on the shore; and he was so struck with the beauty of the bird that he made a little grave for it on the shore, and heaping up a little cairn of stones over it, left it there, saying it was too beautiful a bird to molest. Another pair was killed on April 2nd, 1872, in the harbour, but they are not common. I examined an unusually large skin of this species last summer at Mr. Cecil Smith's. I never saw any approaching it in size; the beak along the upper ridge was more than  $4\frac{1}{2}$  in. long; the wing from the carpus to the tip of the longest quill was  $8\frac{3}{4}$  in.; and the tarsus  $3\frac{1}{2}$  in.

*Limosa Rufa.* "Bar-tailed Godwit." Much more numerous than the last-named species. It is seen every year in the harbour at Christchurch. About the year 1875 an immense flock of some

hundreds visited the harbour in full summer plumage, their red-brown breasts being most conspicuous and attractive to an ornithologist's eye. They remained about there undisturbed for a week or two, ere they passed on to resume their migratorial journey. Four or five good specimens were picked up, and reached Hart's hands, but the Birds Act prevented their being disturbed, as doubtless they otherwise would have been.

*Scolopax Rusticola*. "Woodcock." That man is truly to be pitied who has never had the thrill of excitement aroused within him as he listens to the stirring cry of "*Mark Cock*." Surely it is the prince of game birds—both as to appearance and flavour—in the wood, and on the table. They occur in some seasons far more plentifully than others. But if you want real Cock shooting you must travel to the east of Europe. To show the numbers there I will just quote a passage from Mr. A. E. Knox's "*Game Birds and Wild Fowl*," which shows what sport may at times be had by the fortunate tourist. Colonel Parker with a party of friends, in the Morea, killed the following number of Woodcock in six of their best days' shooting:—

	Woodcocks.
Two days at Butrinto	{ 196 183
Two days on the Fanara, or Acheron River	{ 110 193
Two days on the Achelous River	{ 168 171
Grand total of six days	<hr/> 1026 <hr/>

I shall never forget the excitement I was in when, in 1856, I killed my two first Cocks, which I have now in my collection. I was taken by an elderly relative to a small wood, on the borders of Devon and Cornwall, which always had the reputation of holding a Cock or two, if there were any in at all; and various and sundry were the explanations and exhortations given me to enable me to recognize *Rusticola*, if I should be fortunate enough to see him; advice which I thought highly superfluous, as I was not likely at



that time to let any "Brown Bird" of his size go away without doing my best to stop him. However, in we went into cover, and I had not gone far ere a "Brown Bird" fluttered up over some brambles just in front of me. No sooner was he up than he was down again, and my first Cock was safely bagged. Soon after a second got up in front of my elderly relative, who missed him with both barrels; but the bird circled round, and I marked him down accurately between two spruce firs, where I had seen him double down sharply from the top of the wood. My friend and all the beaters, however, excitedly declared they had marked it down by a watercourse lower down in the copse, in which direction it had first flown, and my remonstrances, being but a youngster, were utterly disregarded and ridiculed. Well, said I at last, "you go your way, and I'll go mine, and I'll join you in a minute if my eyes have deceived me;" and after they had departed, pitying my self-confidence, I walked up to my two spruce firs, kicked him up, and knocked him over as he was just clearing their tops. And those were the only two we saw that day. A short time after I remember surrounding a little wood on Loo Down, on Dartmoor, and bagging twelve out of thirteen Cocks we flushed there. Those were, indeed, days one would like to have over again. But their very remembrance is exhilarating, returning as I did from a three weeks' visit with eight couple of Cocks bagged to my own gun, and having missed many more than I killed.

*Scolopax Major.* "Solitary Snipe." I have several notices of this bird, kindly supplied by Mr. Hart, but have never come across one myself in this district. He has one in his collection, killed by E. Budden, of Christchurch, on October 1st, 1849; another was killed by Laidlaw, in the Marsh at Christchurch, on August 9th, 1876; a third, at Christchurch, on September 14th, 1880; a fourth was killed on October 4th, 1880, by Hart himself; while I have a note of a fifth specimen, killed at Pewsey, on September 23rd, 1868. It is not so devoted to water as the ordinary Snipe, preferring such spots as the Jack Snipe more generally selects; which bird, also, it resembles in the manner of its flight, as it seldom flies far before alighting again, nor does it make any sound when it is put up, like

the "scape-scape" of its congener. It can be distinguished at once from *S. Gallinago* by its greater size, as well as by having all the under parts mottled and streaked with brown, instead of being white, as in the other species—although, in the common Snipe the colouring on the under parts varies much, and you often kill one almost, though not entirely, dark underneath.

*Scolopax Sabini*. "Sabine's Snipe." Whether this bird is a distinct species from *S. Gallinago*, or merely a melanism, has been much disputed, but I certainly incline to the opinion that it is merely a variety of plumage. I have several notices of its recent occurrence. One was sent in to Harbour, the Reading naturalist, by the late Sir C. Russell, of Swallowfield Park, on September 14th, 1873. Another was killed by Mr. Bennett, of Stapleford, at that place, on December 20th, 1873, as communicated to me by Mr. Baker, of Mere; a third, at Picket Post, in the New Forest, in 1859; while at Christchurch it has occurred not infrequently of late years, as will be seen by the note kindly furnished me by Mr. Hart, one in each of the years 1852, 1860, 1867; two in 1868; four in 1869; one each in 1870 and 1876; and one on January 12th, 1881, killed by Hart himself, at Mitchell's Hole, near the ferry boat. There seems to be no essential difference in this bird, in shape or formation, from the common Snipe, which itself is not infrequently met with of various shades of colour, so that there would seem to be no material reason for thinking this to be a totally distinct species.

*Scolopax Gallinago*. "Snipe." It is one of our common winter birds. But they do not stay with us in the summer, or breed in our meadows, though I believe they occasionally do at Compton and other places on the banks of the neighbouring river, the Test. I have always found the November month the best for them in this parish, when you could generally bag, with two good guns, four or five couple. One day in November, after hard rain all the morning, the sun came out warm and bright, and I took two friends out for a turn in the meadows, not expecting there would be a Snipe in; but we found the meadows full of them, and from 12 to 4 we bagged nine couple and a half, and should have bagged at least twelve couple, had one of my friends been accustomed to Snipe; and on

leaving off for the day we left the meadows full of them, as the failing light did not give us opportunity of thoroughly beating our ground. There is one place in the adjoining parish of Homington where you are almost always sure of finding a whisp, even when there are few or none elsewhere. It is a spot consisting of thick damp flags interspersed with tall arbele trees; a spot not likely, at first sight, to harbour them, and by no means easy to kill them in, but where they are always to be found if they have not been previously disturbed. I remember once having a grand opportunity of filling my bag with five or six couple at once, which—though it may occur now and again—does not often happen. I was beating a field of turnips, near Oxford, when up got a whisp of some forty or fifty Snipe within twenty yards of me. Foolishly thinking they were but larks I never fired, until a straggler getting up and “scaping” showed me the true nature of the chance I had thrown away; though that one, with three other single birds, paid the penalty of staying behind their neighbours. I must confess once to have been very cleverly detected in the unsportsmanlike act of shooting a Snipe on the ground. I noticed a Snipe on the gravel of a “drawing” by the side of a thick withy-bed, where I saw I should have but little chance of getting a shot if I put him up; and being in much want of a couple of Snipe that day I let fly and ignominiously killed him. Conscience, I suppose, upbraiding me, I holloacd to the keeper, who was inside the withy-bed, beating, at some little distance off, “All right, I’ve got him.” Upon which he immediately replied, “Ah! Sir, you shot that bird upon the ground; I heard your shot rattle on the stones.” To which I could make no satisfactory reply, having been detected in the very act. I mention this to show the keenness of observation which, as in the case of this keeper, becomes engendered in the sportsman. There is no better sport than Snipe shooting, requiring as it does quickness of decision and keenness of eye; you must be always on the alert, expecting to kill; and then, with small shot, and the wind in your favour, and above all things keeping your eye well on the bird, and not on your gun, over they will come. There is no better advice to a young beginner than this, “Keep cool, and your eye

well on your bird, and let your gun take care of itself." In archery, if you look at the point of your arrow (a mistake very prevalent, and hard at times to guard against) you will never hit the target. At cricket, if you think about the position of your hands you will never field the ball. The eye must be rivetted on the object in motion, and then the hand, bow, or gun—as the case may be—will take care of itself, and come into the right place by magic.

*Scolopax Gallinula*. "Jack Snipe." Quite common amongst us, at the right times, and in the right places. They have, from their diminutive size and jerky flight, the character of being very hard to kill; but if your shot be small enough, and yourself cool enough, they need not be so. They lie so close generally that you actually all-but tread upon them ere they rise; and they are generally missed from the gun not being cool and collected. Not infrequently a dog will snap them as they rise from under his nose, they lie so closely. I have known it to be so on two occasions. I once found four of them all congregated together, but they are not generally sociable birds, and you rarely flush more than one of them at a time. They are most amusing little birds; and if you miss them they will obligingly keep on pitching within a hundred yards or so, so that they seem to chaff you with a "Never mind, better luck next time." I have often seen four or five barrels go off at Mr. "Jack," who has at last escaped scot free, by pitching on the further side of the river, where you could not follow him.

*Machetes Pugnax*. "The Ruff"; his partner being called the "Reeve." It is one of the most curious birds of its order we have, both as to the shape and colouring of the plumage of the males in the breeding season. The ruff round their necks and heads, from whence their name, vary in the most indescribable manner: they vary literally from glossy black to pure white, from bright rufous colour to every conceivable shade of brown. Some are plain, some spotted, some quite regularly striped, and you rarely, if ever, find two quite alike. They are nothing like so frequent as they used to be. A good specimen, in dark black summer plumage, was killed by a Mr. Ward, at Ringwood, on July 3rd, 1869. Six were procured in the Christchurch district in September, 1875, and Hart

killed one (with a Reeve), in nearly perfect summer plumage, on August 11th, 1879, in the harbour. The only time I ever came across them personally was on the North Curry Moor, near Taunton. The moor had been flooded all the summer, the hay actually rotting in the swath; and having been told that there were all kinds of birds on the moor, from the Hooper to the Dunlin, I sallied out one evening to try my luck. I started, however, too late, and the miasma and stench from the decaying vegetable matter was so great, that I tied a muffler round my mouth, and returned. The next morning, however, I sallied forth again; and after walking some distance, and seeing nothing, my eye at last alighted on a large flock of common Plover, which—from want of some better object of attraction—I determined to stalk. I soon got knee-deep in the water, not knowing the mode of irrigation in those moors, and just as I was thinking of returning, the effort necessary not seeming worth the cost, my eye rested on a brown bird amongst the Plovers, and my energies, at once returned. They were very tame, and let me approach them in the open; and as they rose, keeping my eye well on the brown bird, I let fly, and not only knocked him over, but also a second bird of the same species, which I had not previously noticed, while immediately after I detected a third on a tussock of grass, which was peering above the water, which I also secured. They were the young birds of the year, and so totally unlike the full-robed male that at first I had no notion what they were.

*Tringa Canutus*. "The Knot." This is one of the birds, like the Bar-tailed Godwit and others, whose summer plumage so entirely differs from the winter dress that you would scarcely recognize them as being of the same species, the winter plumage being of a uniform grey tint, while that of the summer is reddish-brown. They are occasionally to be met with at Christchurch and Poole. On May 18th, 1880, Hart observed a small cluster of these birds in the harbour, in full summer dress; and he tells me he has more than once shot them with the eggs fully developed, and the yolk quite formed, so that they must have been within a few days of laying; and yet they are never supposed to breed in any more southerly district than the Arctic regions. In the recent voyage of the *Alert*

and *Discovery* to the North Pole, they found the young birds just hatched, I believe; but, if I remember right, could not meet with any eggs, which have scarcely, if ever, been found. The bird itself can be easily distinguished from all others of its tribe, by its short plump figure.

*Tringa Temminckii.* "Temminck's Stint." One of the very smallest of the Sandpipers; occasionally found at the river's mouth, nearer than which, of course, there is but little chance of meeting with it. There were several specimens procured in 1881; and Hart killed three on September 14th of that year; and two more on the 16th of the same month were killed by a gunner of the name of Derham.

*Tringa Minuta.* "Little Stint." Another small species, a trifle bigger than the last-named, but having nothing to spare to win the prize for minuteness. Almost yearly a specimen or two occurs in the Christchurch Harbour. There is one way by which you can at once distinguish between this and *Temminck's Stint*, which at all times is not easy to do; which is, that in the latter the outer tail feathers are always white, while in the Little Stint they are of a pale brown colour. These distinctions, mentioned to me by Cecil Smith, Esq., of Somerset, are worth remembering in such birds as this, as anyone may be very easily at a loss to determine what they really are, especially in their first plumage.

*Tringa Maritima.* "Purple Sandpiper." Also found on our neighbouring coasts occasionally. Five of these birds were killed by Mr. Hart and a friend of his in the autumn of 1860. I have a pair in my collection, from Teignmouth. They would seem to be peculiarly addicted to rocky places, more than any other of the Sandpipers; and the remarkable purple gloss on their feathering, and a certain general plumpness of figure, at once distinguishes them from others of their tribe—as well as the bright orange colour of their legs.

*Tringa Variabilis.* "Purre," or "Dunlin." The most numerous of all its tribe, and to be found in many places on our coasts, in flocks, not only of hundreds, but simply of thousands. At Sturt Island, off Burnham, as mentioned before, when some way off, they

appeared like a shifting cloud, being too thick to be discerned individually; and I shall never forget my excitement, never having seen such a flight before, when I realised that the seeming cloud was in reality but myriads of birds in motion. Their classical name is evidently taken from the varying plumage of the old and young, and the difference of appearance in their winter and summer garb; which, however, does not vary so much in their case as in that of the Knot and Phalarope, the Bar-tailed Godwit, and the next-named species.

*Tringa Subarquata*. "Curlew Tringa," or "Pigmy Curlew," so called from its bill being slightly curved downward, after the manner of the Curlew or Whimbrel. This bird is not nearly so numerous as the one last mentioned, though it is generally scattered over our south coasts. It occurs yearly at Christchurch, and was unusually plentiful in 1880 and 1881. In 1873 Hart obtained a specimen in full summer plumage, which is uncommon to meet with. In its winter dress it is not altogether unlike the Purre, but it can at once be distinguished from it by its white tail coverts, the same feathers in the Purre being dark. There is another rare species, somewhat similar to this (Bonaparte's Sandpiper, *Tringa fuscicollis*), which also has white tail coverts, but which very seldom occurs. It has been met with, however (as Mr. Cecil Smith informs me), four times near Instow, North Devon; three times in Scilly, and twice in Cornwall, besides having been procured in Shropshire and Sussex, and once in Ireland; making its appearance generally in October.

#### RALLIDÆ.

*Crex Pratensis*. "Land Rail," or "Corn Crake." Known by everyone who has ever carried a gun in September. Some few years ago there was a cry raised that these birds were deserting our shores; but I think without foundation. Their numbers vary from year to year, very likely from natural causes, such as the shifting of the wind at the precise time of migration, which may sometimes cause them to act on the motto "Second thoughts are best," and so stay on the other side of the water at the last moment. They are, with the Turtle Dove, one of the assured harbingers of actual spring,

or, rather, approaching summer, as they are rarely heard before the first week in May, when their "crake-creck" on a still quiet night is a most pleasing sound to the naturalist's ear. This bird is a wonderful mesmerist, as, though it may not move its position, its cry seems to come upon your ear, now from a long distance off, and now again to vibrate almost from the ground beneath your feet. In the evening when everything is quite still its call has a most peculiar effect; it seems to run along the ground towards you, like an object in motion, rather than being a mere sound. Meyer mentions a curious incident concerning these birds, viz., how they will answer to the sound of the winding up of a fishing reel; and he has more than once known a Land Rail to run up within five or six yards of the fisherman, evidently thinking that the sound of the reel was a summons from one of its own species. The Land Rail is one of those birds that sorely puzzles you as to its capabilities of crossing the sea, for no one who has only seen it flitting over the clover-heads could imagine that it could ever sustain a flight across even the narrowest part of the ocean. They are the most inveterate runners, evidently never having forgotten the lesson instilled into their minds by their parents, that legs were made to use before wings! In rainy weather, when the clover is wet and the grass damp and moist, you may often run them down with a good dog, their plumage becoming so saturated that they lose their power of rising. One year I asked the mowers in the field just opposite the Vicarage to be careful to keep the eggs of this bird for me, if they should happen to cut a nest out; as there had been a pair there all the May month, and I felt certain they must be breeding there. They found the nest, as I suspected, during the mowing, with ten eggs in it, and taking them out they carefully placed them on the top of the swath they had just mown, intending on their return at the end of the next swath to stop for luncheon, when they meant to bring them in to me. But they "reckoned without their host," for when they came to the place, at the end of their next turn, after an interval of some five minutes or so, they looked for them in vain—the watchful Jackdaws from the churchyard elms having carried off every one of them in that space of time. In 1881, near Abergavenny, I surprised a



newly-hatched brood of these birds, and it was most interesting to watch the devices of the old birds, who practised every conceivable art to draw you off from their funny little black-coated brood, just as the Partridge and the Wild Duck, the Plover and the Reed Bunting will often do.

*Rallus Aquaticus.* "Water Rail," or "Velvet Runner," as it is sometimes called, taking the place of the Land Rail in wet and marshy places. Scattered generally over our water-meadows, but more often met with in the winter than in the summer months. I have never found its nest in our district, though often looking for it, but I have no doubt it breeds with us, as the nest is generally so cleverly hidden, that it is a rare thing to find it at any time. They run so persistently, and lie so close, that they may now and then be captured with the hand. I have had two of them brought alive to me in this way. On October 11th, 1869, a jet black specimen was shot in the New Forest, by the Rev. A. F. Gurney; and on June 16th, 1882, a very curiously-marked one was killed, having its back and wings white, freckled with dark spots, while its breast and head were of a blackish colour. This bird was killed at Wareham, by a Mr. Hutchings, and a very curious looking bird it was, as I can testify, having seen it in Hart's museum. The egg is very like that of the Land Rail, but the birds are not at all similar, except, perhaps, in the markings on the back. The beak, especially, is very different in the two birds.

*Crex Porzana.* "Spotted Crake." A bird, I believe, far more frequently occurring than is commonly supposed, but which, from its skulking habits is rarely flushed, and when obtained, sometimes not recognised, or not sufficiently known to be recorded. I shot one when I was at Oxford, just below the Sandford Lasher, thinking it was an ordinary Water Rail, and knew not my prize until I took it out of the retriever's mouth, who had brought it from the opposite side of the river. In 1869 a pair were killed at Hinks-Mill pond in Mere parish in the autumn of 1869, by Mr. Forward; and on October 12th, 1878, another specimen was killed in the very same field as the pair before-mentioned. In October, 1873, one was picked up dead at Gillingham, having been killed by flying against

the telegraph wires, and another met its fate in the same year, and in the same way, near Westbury. In 1879 a friend of mine from Salisbury, Mr. Mangin, brought me a wing of this bird for identification, which had also been picked up under the wires near Salisbury, and which had been apparently quite severed from the body by the force of the concussion; and these three occurrences happening so near together would certainly prove them to be more numerous than they are usually believed to be, for none of these three specimens would have been heard of, had it not been for their singular misfortune. The young birds, Hart informs me, have been found near Christchurch, and on the 14th of June, 1881, as Mr. Baker writes me, a nest containing twelve eggs was cut out in a clover field adjoining a marsh beside the stream at Mere. Mr. Baker sent up one of the eggs to the *Field Office*, and it was pronounced to be an undoubted specimen of the Spotted Crake (*vide Field, Nat. Hist. notes, June 18th, 1881*). The eggs, one of which Mr. Baker very kindly sent me, strongly resemble the Quail's, but they are more thickly blotched, and are more uniform in shape at the two ends.

*Crex Baillonii.* "Baillon's Crake." Several of these rare little Crakes Hart has in his collection, one of which he bought recently from the collection of the late well-known Grantley Berkley. It was killed in the meadows bordering the Avon between Christchurch and Winkton, which is about one and a-half mile across the meadows, in the year 1863. The entire length of this little bird is only  $6\frac{1}{2}$  in., so that, even if pressed, it is rarely seen or procured, as the thick sedges and rank herbage of the places it frequents afford it so secure a shelter. It is said not to be uncommon in France, and to have a large and extended range, specimens having also been procured both from Asia and Africa.

*Crex Pusilla.* "Little, or Olivaceous Crake." One of these birds was killed in the same place as that of the last-named species, between Christchurch and Winkton, in the year 1866, and is also in Hart's museum. He has also other notices of these Crakes, he tells me, but not on the Avon side of the district, but on that of the Stour. This and the latter species are both of much the same.

diminutive size, though this, perhaps, exceeds the other by about half-an-inch in measurement; but the chief difference in the plumage would seem to be, that, while in Baillon's variety the back and wings are spotted with white, in the "Little, or Olivaceous Crake," there is very little white in the back, and none on the wing—while the under parts of the latter bird are lighter in tint than the other. It is said to be rarer than Baillon's, and also to be very susceptible of cold, only having occurred in our island from May to August; while Baillon's bird has been procured at all seasons of the year. Meyer says, in his account of this bird, "The present species has a very great peculiarity, that belongs solely to itself, namely its curiosity; if a person who is acquainted with the habits of this bird very carefully approaches the spot where an individual is known to be, it may be seen to come to an edge of the swamp and utter its piping call-note, as it were, in astonishment at what it sees."

*Gallinula Chloropus.* "Moorhen." A very common but very pretty adjunct to all our rivers, lakes, and ponds. The bright scarlet shield on the head, with the graceful white markings amongst the grey plumage on the sides, just under the wing, affording a very pleasing contrast to its otherwise generally dusky appearance. They are furnished with remarkably sharp long claws, which are able to inflict very unpleasing reminiscences on your hands, if you handle them incautiously when only slightly wounded; and which enables them when only winged, to dive and hold on by the water-weeds at the bottom, until at times they tire out your patience and escape. At Harbour's, at Reading, I have noticed for some time a most peculiarly plumaged bird of this species. The general tint of the bird all over the body is of a light grey, the neck being of a light olive green; but the most extraordinary feature in the specimen is that the entire plumage resembles the feathering of the Emu more than anything else, which gives it a most peculiar look. The stoat is a most implacable enemy of the Moorhen in our water-meadows; and I have frequently heard their unmistakable cry of terror as they are suddenly sprung upon in their hiding-places by their keen-scented antagonist. I came across one one day which a stoat had thus just pinned. It had seized the bird by the leg, just on the edge of the

bank, and was holding on like grim Death, with its fore paws planted firmly on the ground in front of it, while the poor bird was screeching with terror, and with its whole body hanging over the river was endeavouring to dive into the water beneath it. Which would have gained the victory in this battle of "French and English" I cannot say, as my retriever caught sight of and made a dash at them, which caused the stoat to let go its hold, when the Moorhen immediately disappeared beneath the water. Some years ago one of my parishioners, a keen observer of Nature, Mr. John Gay Attwater, was walking along the bank of the river, when he noticed a Moorhen with its trip of young ones gambolling about on the bank and in the edge of the water; when all of a sudden up went the Moorhen's tail (a most expressive member in this bird) and at the same time she uttered a shrill cry of warning. On looking about he observed a stoat on the opposite bank of the stream, which had scented his game, and was evidently debating with himself what was the next move. He soon, however, came to a conclusion, for descending the bank he began deliberately to swim across to the place where the birds had quickly hid themselves amongst the sedges. He had not got half-way across, however, before the parent bird flew straight at the stoat, and catching its head with a raking stroke of its long sharp claws as it was swimming, turned the stoat fairly head over heels in the water, which so surprised and discomfited the animal that it turned tail, and swam back to the opposite bank again. However he could not give up his dinner so easily, and acting on the motto "*Labor omnia vincit*," began once more to cross the river. But the Moorhen was equally decided, and flying at him again, repeated the operation once more, with precisely the same effect; and so the battle went on between them, until the stoat was so upset, both bodily and mentally, that he turned tail and made off; and never surely were the long claws of the Moorhen used in a better cause. The flesh of these birds is of an uncommonly good flavour, as might be conjectured from the strong scent they have, which will enable a good dog to catch sometimes one or two couple a day; as the little retriever I now have has often done. It is most amusing to watch "Gyp" draw carefully down the bank, lifting up one paw quietly

after the other, like a cat, when, with her head knowingly cocked on one side, and her tail stiffened, she will pause for several seconds, and having satisfied herself of the exact whereabouts of "*Chloropus*," with one pounce out he comes.

*Aramides Cayannensis*. "Cayenne Rail." I must apologise for mentioning this bird amongst my list of the rarer birds of Wiltshire, but as I can vouch for the following facts I really think they deserve a place in this paper. In the October of 1876 I walked into Foote's shop, at Bath (the bird-stuffer's there), as is my usual custom wherever I go, and enquired if he had come across any rarities of late. To this he answered, "Well, Sir, I have had a bird brought to me in the flesh only yesterday, which was killed on the river between Trowbridge and Bradford, and the like of which I have never seen before"; and on his producing it, sure enough it was to me a "*rara avis*." I knew not what it was, saving that it was evidently a *Gallinule*, and not a British one. It was rather larger than our Moorhen, and quite of a different colour. The legs and iris of eye were of a rich crimson lake; beak light green, inclining to yellow at the base; head, neck, and thighs, pure grey; back, bright olive green; tail, tail coverts, and vent, black; its breast was rich rufous brown, and its wings bright brown, with a touch of crimson on the quills. On the underside of the wing the axillaries were beautifully barred with rufous and black, and taking out one or two of these feathers I sent them to the Rev. A. C. Smith, of Yatesbury, with a description of the bird and details of its capture. In return he wrote me the following:—"I sent it on at once to my friend, Professor Newton. I could not make out the feather at all, and no wonder, for it is a most triumphant fact that Salvin did. Clearly it is an escaped convict, probably from the Zoological Gardens at Clifton or elsewhere; but though not British, it did its very best to acclimatise itself, and become naturalised; poor thing, it did not succeed, still its efforts must be duly recorded." Professor Newton, on receiving Mr. Smith's letter, wrote back to him thus:—"I did not know the feather, but Salvin almost at once recognized it as being from '*Aramides Cayannensis*,' and looking at some specimens we saw that it was so. In proof hereof I enclose another feather

which almost exactly matches the feather sent. I purposely chose one that is not exactly the same, that there may be no confusion, the larger feather being the one I had from you, the smaller one from a specimen in the Swainson collection. As its name implies, it is an inhabitant of Cayenne and adjoining parts, occurring in Trinidad, but I should think nowhere nearer to this country; it has been brought over several times to the zoological gardens, and probably you might see it there now. I can't imagine that it should find its way to us unassisted, but if it should make good its escape I daresay it might continue to exist for some weeks or months in this country, except in winter. *Aramides* is a rather aberrant genus of Rails, found only in the New World. I hope your friend will record the capture, but I should not think of regarding the species as a British bird." Upon this I enquired at the Clifton Zoological Gardens, but they had never had such a bird, and where it could possibly have come from I know not. I would fain believe, as it was a water bird, that it was a veritable straggler from America, but the authorities quoted are too mighty to contend against. The most curious circumstance, however, is, that some time after this occurred, I remembered a bird, exactly of the same size, though not of such bright colouring, that stood in the hall of a friend of mine, Edward Everett, Esq., with whom I dined regularly on the Sunday for seven years. This bird faced me whenever I entered the hall, and I never could make out of what species it was. Determining to sift the matter, I enquired after the bird one day, which had been taken away at the removal of the widow of my late friend to another house, and on inspecting the bird surely enough under the wing were the rufous and black feathers of *Aramides Cayannensis*! But I could gain no positive information about it, except that it had been shot many years ago by some friend, and that Mr. Everett had had it set up. But it was not considered of much value, as it was uncased and therefore very dusty and tarnished in plumage. Mrs. Everett kindly gave me the bird, which I still have, and all I can say is, that it is a most curious coincidence that I should come across these two specimens of this rail (if this duller specimen should turn out to be of the same species as I think it is) which I have never

seen or heard of elsewhere; as well as most unfortunate my not being able to clear up the matter further. But these are the facts, and they must go for what they are worth.

## LOBIPEDIDÆ.

*Fulica Atra.* "Coot." Common in our meadows at times, especially in the winter and spring. It breeds freely amongst us; and I have found the eggs of the Moorhen in the same nest as that of the Coot, in some of our withy-beds. This bird has a peculiar habit of sinking itself in the water when suddenly surprised, lowering its head and neck close to the surface, and slinking into cover as soon as may be. The young birds, when recently hatched, are far prettier than at first sight you might fancy they would be, their little heads being marked with bright blue and red down, which doubtless soon disappears. They are heavy birds on the wing, and afford an easy mark to the young sportsman. They migrate in vast numbers in the autumn; and I observed a great number in the sea off Sturt Island, as already mentioned, in the May month. I was out shooting in our meadows one day with some young brothers-in-law, when I saw a most peculiar circumstance, hard to account for. A party of Coots rose from the Broad in our river, and making a wide detour over land, endeavoured to reach a bend of the river, some half-mile above us. But just as they got opposite us, though out of gun shot, one of the birds turned head over heels in the air, and fell dead to the ground, without a shot having been fired at it. Whether its nervous system was so acted on by the very proximity of a gun, as suddenly to stop all the forces of Nature, I really can in no way determine. The flesh of these birds, unlike the Moor Hen, is tough and dry, and not worth eating.

*Phalaropus Lobatus.* "Phalarope." This is another of those birds which assume, in a very striking manner, the red brick-dust colour in its summer plumage, whereas in its winter garb it is whitish grey; from which latter state of plumage it is often called amongst us the "Grey Phalarope." They are usually but occasional visitants; but in the year 1859 they visited this country in great quantities, and were killed by hundreds. Two of these birds were

killed at Woodlands, in Mere, in the winter of 1870-71, and several others during that year; they were so tame that you could nearly knock them down with a stick. Another specimen was killed at Pertwood, on November 17th, 1875; and a second on November 19th, at Codford, in the same year. About the same time a nice specimen was brought me by a Mr. Edwards, who had knocked it over with his oar, as he was rowing on the river near Salisbury. They seem very unsuspecting of danger, but when fairly on the wing are exceedingly rapid in their flight.

*Phalaropus Hyperboreus*. "Red-necked Phalarope." The only notice I can find of this bird, which is far rarer than the last-named species, is that of a male bird, in the breeding plumage, which was shot by Mr. Elgar Sloper, in the brickfield at Old Park, in May, 1841, which was kept alive for some weeks, it having been only slightly injured in the wing. This is taken from the Rev. A. C. Smith's notes on the Ornithology of Wilts.

#### CHARADRIDÆ.

*Hematopus Ostralegus*. "Oyster Catcher." Common on our sea coasts. Most frequent at Christchurch in the autumn months. A very handsome bird with its pied plumage and richly-coloured bill. They present rather a curious appearance when on the wing, as they fly with their heavy bills pointing perpendicularly to the ground, as though they were too heavy to be held up in the usual horizontal position. I found their nests on Sturt Island, off Burnham, but only one had an egg in it—one or two others, being mere depressions in the shingle, evidently awaiting their first deposit. I unfortunately lost two nice specimens on Sturt Island, as they both fell into the water some way from the shore, and the tide being on the ebb carried them quickly out of reach, and I scarcely thought them worth while swimming for. It lives chiefly, as its name would imply, on mussels and other shell-fish, which its strong bill is able to manipulate.

*Streptopelia Interpres*. "Turnstone." The adult male of this species, in its full summer plumage, is a most pleasingly-marked bird, and is not at all times easy to secure, the rich chestnut and



black and white of its plumage affording most pleasing contrasts. The young birds are quite of a different colour, and are of rather an uninteresting appearance. I see Meyer asserts that the "adult birds (male and female) resemble each other *perfectly*, and are not to be distinguished from each other," but I was not aware that the adult female was also adorned with the same rich colouring as its mate. Their name well determines their habit of life and means of existence, viz., turning over the stones and debris on the shingle, and searching for the marine insects and larvæ hid underneath them. They are most persevering in their efforts to turn over any stone or other object they have once set their hearts on; and a most interesting account of this habit will be found in the "*Life of a Scotch Naturalist* (Edwards)," in pp. 243 to 246, where he gives a most graphic description of the way in which two little Turnstones, eventually helped by a third of their species (who came most opportunely to the assistance of his fellows) turned over a dead cod; first by industriously undermining it on the lower side of the beach by scraping away the sand, and then by running round to the other side and pushing under it with their beaks and breasts, until, after one or two failures, they effected their object—tumbling after the cod for some distance as it fell over, through the impetus of the efforts they used. The fish he describes as being nearly *three feet and a half long*, and had been embedded in the sand to the depth of about *two inches*. Any naturalist who has not read the above-mentioned book ought not to delay a day in procuring and reading it. Hart tells me he has known the Turnstone to remain all the summer in the Christchurch district.

*Glareola Torquata*. "Pratincole." My notices on the *Charadriidæ* would not be complete were I altogether to omit the mention of the single instance of this extremely rare bird which has occurred in our neighbourhood. In November, 1852, Mr. Hussey, of Tilshead, shot one of these birds near a sheep-fold, where it continually settled among the sheep after it had several times risen and returned to the same spot. He describes the flight of the bird as being exceedingly swift and rapid. Meyer mentions their habit of returning to some favourite spot which they may have selected for the

time. "Where they meet with suitable ground," he says, "they remain some time in the neighbourhood, flying away in a body, and often returning again in a moment, to the great surprise of the beholder, who may happen to have startled them up." This corresponds exactly to the account given by the Rev. A. C. Smith of the motions of the specimen mentioned above, which is now in his collection.

*Vanellus Cristatus.* "Lapwing," "Peewit," or "Green Plover." One of the commonest and prettiest birds of our district. They breed freely in the parish, and all around us, and assemble in large flocks in the neighbourhood during the autumn and winter months. A flight of these birds is very interesting to watch, as they twist and twirl simultaneously, as though under the direction of some leader; now showing snowy white against the dark rain-clouds behind them, and now nearly vanishing out of sight as they turn against the wind. The Peewit is one of those numerous birds which most adroitly draws off attention from its young by various and cunning manœuvres. It will tumble over, both on the ground and in the air, until it has succeeded in making you take your eye off the spot where the young ones are hiding under any vantage-ground they may have been able to secure. They are very hard birds for any Hawk to strike; and I have seen a Peregrine Falcon completely outdone by the twists and twirls of one of these birds. An old bird, I expect, is not often taken by them, anyhow single-handed; though the young birds of the year, or one out of a large flock, often fall an easy victim to their terrible adversary. It is astonishing that they increase so rapidly as they do, when you consider the hundreds of dozens in which their eggs are taken and sold weekly during the breeding season; these delicacies, when they first come in, fetching, in London, as much as four shillings a dozen; though, after the first week or so, they rapidly decline in price.

*Squatarola Cinerea.* "Grey Plover." "Not uncommon of late years," writes Hart, "in Christchurch Harbour, in their summer plumage," which differs considerably from their winter garb the whole of the neck and breast (as is also the case in the Golden Plover) being of a rich jet black, while in the winter it is of a dull

grey. The young of these and of the Golden Plover may at times be almost mistaken for each other; but there is one definite mark by which you may always distinguish them, the hind toe of the Grey Plover being entirely absent in the Golden. The Grey Plover, also, is of a stouter and heavier build, and the beak is stronger and thicker. The flight of this bird is wonderfully rapid, and as it generally flies very low to the ground it is not always easy to bring down; and it is so shy that it is very difficult to approach it.

*Arenaria Calidris.* "The Sanderling." Not infrequently met with in company with others of its class. I found it on Sturt Island, in company with the Purre and Ringed Dotterel. It is not altogether unlike the Purre, but it has a shorter bill, and no hind toe.

*Charadrius Pluvialis.* "Golden Plover." Often to be seen in the parish during the autumn and winter. It is of rapid flight, appearing generally in flocks, though one single specimen was shot here in October, by my brother, which had stuck to one especial field for a day or two. It is an especially fast runner; and on one occasion, when my brother had killed one near Wokingham, in Berkshire, a man who saw him shoot it came running up in great haste to know what kind of bird it was, inasmuch as he had just winged one in the next field, which had run him to a clean standstill, and had effected its escape in safety. It is of very handsome plumage in the summer, assuming the jet black breast, as the Grey Plover also does, and turning also very dark on the back, on which the golden spangles of its plumage stand out very attractively. I once saw a large flock in the parish in the March month, some of which were fast acquiring the black breast of the perfect summer feathering. Mr. Baker, of Mere, towards the end of February, 1869, tells me that he shot three Golden Plover, at one shot in three distinct stages of plumage, out of the same flock—summer, winter, and intermediate—but to his great regret afterwards he only had the latter bird of the three set up, which, on consideration was the very one he did not much care to have preserved. They constantly occur on Mere downs, where there are two pieces of arable, which, during the open weather in winter and early spring is an almost certain find for them; but he

has never known them breed there. I need not add that they are considered great luxuries for the table.

*Cursorius Isabellinus*. "Cream-coloured Courser." This bird also has once been recorded as having occurred in Wiltshire: and that also in the very same district that the Pratincole was shot in. One was killed by Mr. W. Langton, of Wandsworth, when out shooting near Tilshead. This bird lay so close that his dog nearly chopped it, and after settling again, some two hundred yards off he shot it as it was running along the ground. The bird was shot on October 2nd, 1855, as also recorded by the Rev. A. C. Smith.

*Charadrius Morinellus*. "Dotterel." At one time this pretty and sprightly bird was by no means uncommon on our downs, but they are not now-a-days often seen. Mr. Attwater, of this parish, tells me he used to meet with them frequently some years ago; and not long ago put up a single bird once or twice in the parish. But on enquiring of a friend of his for me, whose farm lay in a district which they used to frequent, he wrote thus:—"My friend tells me they occasionally get Dotterel on the Plain, both at the barley sowing time and in the barley harvest, which would be in March and September, but not so regularly or in such numbers of late years. This agrees with what others have told me." In 1854 Mr. Hart's brother killed five out of a pack of fourteen, in summer plumage, near Christchurch. In 1873 a female Dotterel was killed out of a flock of three, at Stockton, by Mr. Brown Gifford, in the spring months. Another immature specimen was killed on a piece of fallow at Fonthill, by Mr. Coombs, October 1st, 1876; and Mr. Baker, tells me "On two or three occasions I have seen Dotterel on Mere Down. On March 7th, 1881, I shot at one at a long range, but failed to bag it." And in the month of April or May, about 1868, being on horseback, he rode quite close—within ten or fifteen yards—to three birds of this species that were running before him up a furrow, and seemed scarcely to notice his presence. I had two specimens given me from Jersey not long ago, but they are immature and not in good plumage.

*Charadrius Hiaticula*. "Ringed Dotterel." Not uncommon on our coasts in the South of England, and generally distributed. I

once saw one of these birds, to my surprise, in our water-meadows, immediately behind the Vicarage, but it is the only occasion on which I have seen it so far inland. They breed freely at Christchurch and Muddeford, from whence I obtained some eggs. I also shot them on Sturt Island, where they were in some numbers; flying out a little distance to seaward when you disturbed them, and soon curling round to the shore again from whence they had started, and enlivening the scene with their shrill but pleasing whistle.

*Charadrius Minor*. "Little Ringed Dotterel." This greatly resembles the former species, so much so that it may have been often confounded with it. It is, however, far more scarce than the other. If, however, there is an opportunity of comparing the skins of the two birds, you can distinguish them in this way, that, whereas in *C. Hiaticula* the shaft of the second quill and the others are *white*, in *C. Minor* the same are *brown*. Mr. Hart has given me a note of one of these birds having been killed at Christchurch on April 26th, 1879, by H. Preston; another also having occurred there many years ago; but they are rare.

*Charadrius Cantianus*. "Kentish Plover." This is another species somewhat resembling the two former which is occasionally met with in the Avon mouth district. Mr. Cecil Smith found it breeding, and took the eggs of it, in Guernsey, in 1876; and the following occurrences have been noted at Christchurch:—two specimens in 1859, which are now in Hart's collection; one in 1873; and two others in 1874 off Needsour Point, in the Solent.

*Egialitis Vocifera*. "Kill-Deer Plover." I am indebted to Mr. Hart for enabling me to mention an instance of the capture of this American species at Christchurch, which, I believe, is the only European instance of it recorded. It is now in Hart's collection, where I have seen it, and was shot at Knap Mill, by Tom Dowden, belonging to the Royalty Fishery, in 1859. It is an American bird, and takes its name from its peculiar cry. It is not unlike the Ringed Dotterel in general colouring and appearance; but it is a larger bird with a longer tail, and has a double black band across the breast, by which it can be at once recognised.

*Edicnemus Crepitans*. "Thick-knee," "Stone Curlew," or

“Norfolk Plover.” We come now to the last species to be named in the Order of the Grallatores, and it is a bird which is—or must I say was?—by no means uncommon on our downs; and until quite lately its eggs, of which I have several local specimens, could be easily obtained from many of the surrounding parishes. But I fear this bird is fast getting scarcer amongst us than it used to be. It is a very shy and wary bird, and hard to approach; and the unusually large bright eye which it possesses it would seem to make the best use of. It assumes the most curious attitudes, standing on one leg, with its head shrugged up to its shoulders; and moving about for short distances with jerks and starts, as though it had rheumatism in its legs, or were walking on stilts. I had a young one brought me some time ago from the downs, which I kept alive for above a week, in the stable, but it did not relish its captivity, and soon pined away and died. My brother noticed a nice pair of these birds in the parish of Stratford Toney last year.

And now I must wish my readers farewell, if any should, indeed, have waded through what, I fear, to some may appear a needlessly protracted paper. But the Order is a numerous, and also a very interesting one; and no one with any observation can fail to notice how accurately every species in it has been exactly suited for the kind of life it is destined to lead. Nothing is wanting. The long tarsus of the Wader, the short stout bill of the Turnstone, the pointed beak of the Heron, the mottled colouring of the young of most of the Order, which renders them well-nigh invisible, though lying at your very feet, all testify to a perfect wisdom and providential care, that has omitted nothing suited to their need. How different it is when man interferes in Nature’s work. Not one man out of an hundred can even put a bird into a natural and pleasing position, when he has all the materials before him to enable him to do so; whereas if he attempted to create a new species out of his own unassisted intelligence, how surely he would turn out to be like the architect, who is said to have designed a most gorgeous palace, perfect in every way, but in the simple fact that he had forgotten the staircase. Or, if he failed not so signally as this, and managed to make no mistake in the adjustment of the principal

organs, how surely he would be found guilty of some oversight, perhaps making the bill turn up instead of down, or the tarsus short instead of long, which would mar all his efforts, and end in the simple failure of all his design. But let us reflect, good reader! If God has fitted the birds of the air with such minute and faultless wisdom for the exact manner of life they have to lead, surely we may also believe, to our individual comfort, that He has, as truly, bestowed upon each one of us such qualities as are necessary for the life to which He may have been pleased to call us; and that nothing, therefore, but our own self-will can defeat His gracious purposes, or cause us to fail in carrying out to a successful issue those good works which He has before ordained that we should walk in. Only let us use our pound with as much assiduity and perseverance as those little Turnstones did their bills, and *our* mountains shall be cast into the sea before *our* honest endeavours, as surely as *they* turned over *their* codfish; and well will it be for us, if we take as little note of our performances, however successful we may be, as they did, simply making the best use of what has been given us, and then thinking no more about the matter; but "leaving no stone unturned" that may contain a prize beneath it, and as soon as one task is finished immediately setting about the next.

I must not omit to thank those kind friends who have assisted me with so much information in the preparing of this paper, more especially Mr. Edward Hart, of Christchurch, whose carefully-kept and accurate notes have furnished me with a host of information; as also Mr. E. Baker, of Mere, and Mr. Cecil Smith, of Somerset, with many others. Without their aid this would have been but a most imperfect and meagre list, whereas it will be seen that our neighbourhood, including the mouth of our river Avon—which we may well press into our service, is as rich a locality for our water birds as the South of England possesses.

## Some Un-Described Articles in the Stourhead Collection.

**S**INCE the Stourhead Collection has passed into the possession of the Trustees of the Wiltshire Museum, the Curator has found that some of the articles have not been described in "Ancient Wiltshire," and that others could not be identified, owing to the loss or decay of the labels respecting them. Much information has, however, been obtained by reference to the drawings and MSS. in the possession of Mr. Cunnington's family. It is proposed to publish some of these particulars from time to time in the *Wiltshire Magazine*.

### NOTE ON AN ANCIENT BRITISH URN OR DRINKING CUP, FOUND AT MERE, WILTS. IN THE WILTSHIRE MUSEUM, DEVIZES.

This cup was found by Mr. Fenton, a friend of Sir R. C. Hoare, in a barrow on Mere Down. An account of the opening of this barrow and a description of its contents are given in "Ancient Wiltshire," as follows:—<sup>1</sup> "At the depth of about three feet and a half he found a cist six feet in length, from east to west, containing the skeleton of a large man, with his limbs gathered up and crossed, and that of a younger person by his right side. From the position of their heads they seem to have been placed in the affectionate attitude of embrace, as the two skulls nearly touched each other. Close to them was a richly-ornamented drinking cup, and near the left side of the adult was a small lance-head of brass [bronze], and a piece of grey slaty stone, perforated at the ends. He also found a small instrument of bone, and two circular ornaments of thin but pure gold: these were also perforated, and used like the blue stone as ornaments of dress. Towards the eastern side of the cist was a great deal of charred wood, the use of which it is difficult to conjecture, as the tumulus presented no apparent signs of burning."

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<sup>1</sup> "Ancient Wilts," vol. i., p. 44.



The articles found are engraved in Plate II. of the same size as the originals, and may now be seen in the Museum at Devizes. The cup, however, was broken, and only one fragment of it was engraved. When the Stourhead Collection was removed to Devizes it included many loose pieces of ancient pottery: among these five more fragments of this same cup were fortunately found, and it has now been successfully restored and forms an interesting addition to the collection. It differs materially from the ordinary type of Ancient British drinking cup (so called). It is much more elegant in outline, and the ornamentation is gracefully disposed so as to suit the shape. A similar though larger vase was found by Mr. Cunnington in a barrow at Boyton, in 1804.<sup>1</sup> Of this he remarks:—"The wide brim and large size rather militate against appropriating these vessels to the purpose of drinking."

A smaller vase of the same type, but not so boldly moulded at the rim, was found in a barrow on Roundway Hill, in 1855, described in *Wiltshire Magazine*, vol. iii., p. 185, and figured in "Crania Britannica, vol. ii., with Plate XXXII."<sup>2</sup>

The design and ornamentation are so similar in these three cups as to suggest that they may have been made by the same person.

The general similarity of the barrow on Roundway Hill to that opened by Mr. Fenton at Mere, is quite remarkable. Allowing that the gold ornaments and bone netting-mesh belonged to the second skeleton (presumably a female), the other articles found—the small well shaped urn, the bronze dagger, and the tablet of chlorite slate—are similar in both interments.

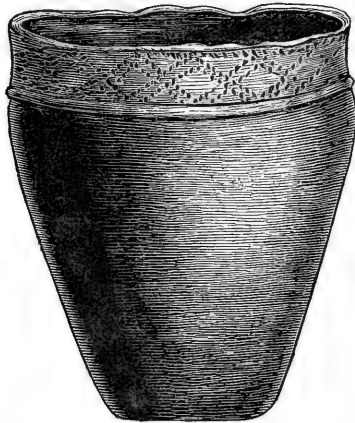
It may be well here to note that the purpose for which these plates of slate were anciently used has since been satisfactorily determined by Canon Ingram and other authorities.<sup>3</sup> There can be little doubt that they were used as wrist-guards, to protect the left arm of the wearer against the rap of the string in shooting with the bow.

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<sup>1</sup> See "Archæologia," vol. xv., p. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> Also in Waring's "Ceramic Art," Pl. XIX.

<sup>3</sup> See "*Wiltshire Magazine*," vol. x., p. 109.



LARGE FUNERAL URN (one of three) FOUND IN A BARROW AT KINGSTON DEVERIL, BY MR. CUNNINGTON, in 1800.

The opening of the "Flint" Barrow at Kingston Deverill is described in "Ancient Wiltshire," vol. i., 47-8, and in Mr. Cunnington's MS. he speaks of it as having given him more trouble than any he has ever opened, except the vast Long Barrow at Tilshead; as in the course of the work the labourers had to throw out more than fifty loads of large flints. Of the largest of the urns, which contained burnt human bones, and a bronze spear or dagger head, he says, "I have preserved the fragments, and from these a drawing has been made by Mr. Crocker. (See No. 1, coloured drawings.) It was very large, and differently ornamented from any I have ever seen." (The above woodcut has been copied from the drawing.) All that remained of the urn itself has been lost.

This barrow, raised in a district where large flints are exceedingly abundant, is chiefly composed of that material: so at Rockley, near Marlborough, the barrow opened by Mr. H. Cunnington, in 1879,<sup>1</sup> is mainly formed of the large sarsen stones, which are scattered in such profusion in that neighbourhood. It would appear that both barrows are of the same—the Early Bronze—Period, and the suggestion arises that this flint barrow may resemble the barrow

<sup>1</sup> "Wiltshire Magazine," xix., 68.

at Rockley still more closely; for it is probable that the Deveril barrow had a central interment at the base, which, through the great difficulty of the excavation, owing to the presence of the vast quantities of flints, as described, was not at the time discovered. If this were the case the urns would correspond in number and position, as well as in their relation to the chief central interment, with those in the Rockley barrow.



DRINKING CUP FOUND AT IMBER, WILTS.

The drinking cup figured above was found by Mr. Cunnington at Imber, Wilts. It seems worthy of more notice than it has received in "Ancient Wiltshire" (vol. i., 86).

Mr. Cunnington speaks of it as being so superior in colour and quality, that many persons might even think it to be of Roman make, but careful comparison would prove the contrary. "Borlase," he says, "gives a drawing of a similar cup, in his 'Antiquities of Cornwall,' and erroneously supposes it to be Roman."<sup>1</sup>

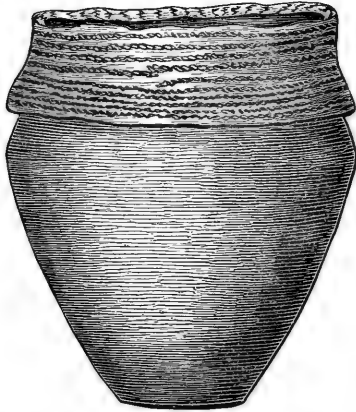
"It was crushed to pieces, but with some pains I have joined it together so as to enable Mr. Crocker to make a water-colour drawing." (From this the woodcut has been engraved.)

The ornamentation is of the characteristic style of Ancient British

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<sup>1</sup> See Borlase's *Ant. Corn.*, Pl. XVIII., Fig. 6. "From the neatness of the lace-work round the urn I should judge it to be Roman." It was from a barrow at Chikarn, Cornwall, in which fifty urns were found by the occupier of the land round a central interment, but such was the want of intelligence at the time that only one of them all—that engraved by Mr. Borlase—was preserved.

drinking cups, but in form it was much more elegant. It was probably too much injured to bear the casualties of seventy years, and there is not even a fragment of it in the present Stourhead Collection.



FUNERAL URN FROM DURRINGTON, WILTS, FOUND BY  
MR. CUNNINGTON, NOVEMBER, 1803.

The above engraving represents a fine Ancient British urn, belonging to the Stourhead Collection, which has hitherto been undescribed. It is not mentioned in "Ancient Wiltshire," nor indeed had it any label or other means of identification attached to it. But for the fortunate circumstances that Mr. Crocker's drawing and a MS. account of it are preserved, in Miss Cunnington's possession, its history would have been altogether lost.

It was found in a barrow on the edge of Durrington Down, in November, 1803.

This barrow is No. 69 in the "Map of the Environs of Stonehenge," "Ancient Wilts," p. 170, and is mentioned in "*Tumuli Wiltunenses*," p. 27, as having been opened by Mr. Cunnington "at a prior period." His MS. note is as follows:—"The barrow was 40ft. in diameter, and not more than 18in. in elevation; in it we found, in a neat cist, cut in the solid chalk, a fine urn (see

drawing 12), which contained the burnt bones, *without ashes*. The cist was made to fit the urn exactly, and to this I attribute its fine preservation. On taking it up we discovered a considerable quantity of decayed linen cloth, (and some pieces which I conceived to be woollen), but although we could see enough to remark on the coarseness and thinness of the texture, it would not bear exposure to the rough wind we had that day. I think it is more than probable that after the body was consumed, the bones were carefully collected in this perhaps (then) fine linen cloth, and put into the urn."

The urn is of imperfectly-burnt clay of a coarse quality. The rim is deep and well-formed, and ornamented with ten rows of oblique dots, apparently produced by pressing on the surface while soft, a twisted thong or cord. The lines are irregular and sometimes overlap. The edge of the urn has short lines of similar dots very irregularly-marked, sometimes at right angles, and sometimes diagonally. It is  $13\frac{1}{2}$  in. in height,  $11\frac{1}{2}$  in. in width across the mouth, and 12 in. in its greatest diameter.

#### ON TWO SPEAR-HEADS IN THE STOURHEAD COLLECTION IN THE WILTSHIRE MUSEUM.

In Dr. Thurnam's very valuable report on the Round Barrows of Wiltshire, "Archæologia," xliii., 447, an error occurs with respect to a socketed spear-head, of which an engraving is there given. It is desirable to correct this error, as important arguments have been based on the occurrence of this variety of spear-head in British barrows.

The description of a *riveted dagger*, from the Wilsford group of barrows, as given in "Ancient Wiltshire," vol. i., 208, has been by mistake applied to a *socketed and looped* spear-head from a barrow near Stonehenge.<sup>1</sup>

Woodcuts are here given of both implements, for the purpose of comparison.

The first mentioned, the dagger from the Wilsford Group, No. 5 (it is more correct to speak of it as a dagger than as a spear), was

<sup>1</sup> It is not surprising that this mistake was made, as the specimens were not labelled, excepting with a number referring to Mr. Cunnington's private catalogue.

found with a deposit of burnt bones, and “appeared to have been almost melted into a rude lump by the heat of the funeral pile.” The engraving here given, Fig. 4, shows how fitly this description answers to the actual condition of that weapon. The dotted outline

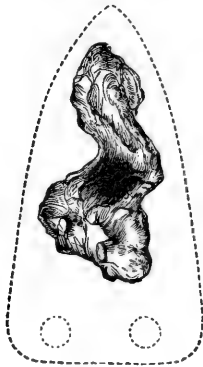


Fig. 4.



Fig. 5.

exhibits the original shape. It is an early form, with two bronze rivets, and has no ornament. Towards the point, which is folded quite over, it has been melted, and in one part the metal appears to have run into a drop. The other end has not been so much heated, as one of the rivets is still in its place, and is quite uninjured.

The other implement, erroneously described by Dr. Thurnam as having been found in the Wilsford Group (figured by him in “Archæologia,” p. 447, fig. 153), was obtained by Mr. Cunnington, in 1802, from a barrow near Stonehenge, and the identity of the specimen is proved by the following extracts from Mr. Cunnington’s MSS. (B. 2, p. 50). Speaking of the group of barrows, “No. 14,” near Stonehenge (in one of which the large “Stonehenge” Urn was discovered), he says:—“in one of them we found a brass [bronze] spear-head. It was *immediately under the turf*, and was much corroded, but in form it is similar to one figured in Gough’s Camden, vol. iii., pl. 39, fig. 3.” [The engraving here spoken of is a *socketed looped* spear-head.]

I have lately acquired the original drawing of this weapon, by Mr. Crocker. It was evidently made at the time of the discovery, when more of the thick coating of earth and rust adhered to it, and when it was longer than at present, as a broken off point is represented. On the same sheet is a sketch of the group of barrows south (west) of Stonehenge, in one of which (No. 3) it was found, and a drawing of the Stonehenge Urn, found in No. 1.

This specimen is the only one of the kind in the Stourhead Collection.

The description given in "Ancient Wiltshire" of the weapon from Wilsford, as affected "by the action of fire," does not apply to this specimen, for though much thickened, particularly at the edges, by the oxydation of the metal, it bears no appearance of having been burnt. Its form is not distorted, and the side loops are well preserved. It is fairly represented in the woodcut, Fig. 5.

Bronze dagger and spear-heads have been grouped into three divisions according to their structure:—I., such as are inserted in the handle by means of a single tang; II., those fastened to the handles with rivets (sometimes of wood, sometimes of bronze); III., those which were formed with a socket into which the handle was inserted, and furnished with side loops for tying on. The last-mentioned are the most modern, extending down to the Roman or even to later periods: and it has been argued that if these are found in British barrows, the date of such barrows must be comparatively recent. But in this instance only, has a socketed spear been found in a Wiltshire barrow, and that under exceptional circumstances,<sup>1</sup> as it did not occur with the original interment, but was dug up "immediately under the turf," and consequently can only be regarded "as a mere waif," as Dr. Thurnam himself expresses it, and can afford no evidence as to the age of the barrow.

All the daggers and spear-heads that have been found in Wiltshire

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<sup>1</sup> An implement of this form was found at Hagbourne, Bucks., in 1805, but it affords no evidence on the question; for the interment in which it was found contained horse-trappings and gold and silver coins. It was of Roman or Saxon date, certainly not Ancient British. *Vide* "Archæologia," vol. xliii., p. 446.

barrows are of the more simple forms, with plain tangs, or with rivets, not socketed, and consequently indicate greater age.<sup>1</sup>

It is so difficult to obtain the truth in connection with these remote antiquities that this attempt to remove an error out of the way will, it is hoped, be deemed a sufficient reason for the present notes.

W. CUNNINGTON.

London, 1883.

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## The Stourhead Collections of Antiquities and Books.

**E**ARLY in the year 1883 it was announced to the Committee that the "Stourhead Collection of Antiquities" was for sale, in common with many of the books, drawings, and other objects of interest in connection with the archæology of Wiltshire, which had also been collected by Sir R. C. Hoare.

It will be remembered that the "Antiquities" consist chiefly of the contents of the barrows of Wiltshire exhumed early in the present century by the eminent antiquary, Sir R. C. Hoare, and his coadjutor, Mr. William Cunnington: and that, some three years ago, they were removed, by the courtesy of the present owner of Stourhead, to the Museum at Devizes; and here, owing to the painstaking exertions of the Curators, the various articles of which the collection consists have been carefully arranged, labelled, and displayed in cases.

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<sup>1</sup> "Side looped spear-heads are almost peculiar to the British Isles, and are more common in Ireland than in England. Where there are no rivets there are loops." "Horæ Ferales," edited by Mr. Franks.



It was immediately felt by the Committee that strenuous efforts should be made to retain in the county these collections, of such extreme value to all who are interested in the history and antiquities of Wiltshire: and for this purpose an appeal was made throughout the county for contributions to enable the Society to purchase the antiquities, and such of the books, MSS., and drawings as seemed most desirable.

This appeal was very generally and liberally responded to, and the sum of £389 7s. 6s. was collected; by means of which the antiquities, and a portion of the books relating to Wiltshire, have been secured, and are now in the possession of the society.

It should be added that our special thanks are due to Sir Henry Hoare, for the liberal terms in which he has dealt with the Society. Neither should our obligations to Canon Jackson be forgotten, to whose wise discretion the selection of books to be purchased at the sale in London was confided.

The Committee desires to congratulate the Society on these valuable acquisitions to its Museum and Library.

The following is the summary of the "Stourhead Collection Fund":—

RECEIVED.	£	s.	d.	PAID.	£	s.	d.
By subscriptions.....	389	7	6	By purchase of antiquities	250	0	0
By balance from General Funds of the Society	0	7	9	„ purchase of books, &c., at sale.....	135	16	6
				„ printing circulars, and postage .....	3	18	9
	<u>£389</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>3</u>		<u>£389</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>3</u>

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<i>Brought Forward</i>	£328	7	0
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The Rev. A. C. Smith ...	2	0	0
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Lord Arundel of Wardour	1	1	0
H. G. Barrey, Esq. ...	1	1	0
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The Rev. W. P. S. Bingham	1	1	0
James Brown, Esq. ...	1	1	0
The Ven. Archdeacon Buchanan ...	1	1	0
The Rev. F. J. Buckley ...	1	1	0
Samuel Dodd, Esq. ...	1	1	0
The Rev. W. Dowding ...	1	1	0
Mrs. Fisher ...	1	1	0
J. G. Godwin, Esq. ...	1	1	0
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The Rev. De Courcy Meade	1	1	0
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The Rev. T. A. Preston ...	1	1	0
William Stratton, Esq. ...	1	1	0
G. S. A. Waylen, Esq. ...	1	1	0
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Miss Margaret Ewart ...	1	0	0
The Rev. E. Goddard ...	1	0	0
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	£	s.	d.
<i>Brought Forward</i>	£381	17	0
J. E. Nightingale, Esq. ...	1	0	0
The Rev. H. A. Olivier ...	1	0	0
J. D. Stokes, Esq. ...	1	0	0
The Rev. Canon Warre ...	1	0	0
Lt.-Col. Winterscale ...	1	0	0
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<i>Brought Forward</i>	£387	7	6
The Rev. R. C. Christie...	0	10	0
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H. A. Wadworth, Esq. ...	0	10	0
	£389	7	6

## Donations to the Library and Museum.

The Committee have the pleasure to acknowledge the following donations to the Library and Museum :—

- Retrospections, Social and Archæological, by C. ROACH SMITH, Esq., F.S.A. Presented by the author.
- Records of the Seasons, Prices of Agricultural Produce, &c., by T. H. BAKER, Esq. Presented by the Rev. CANON JACKSON.
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- Bust of an Aboriginal Chieftain of Van Dieman's Land. He was one of the last of the tribe. He surrendered to the late Admiral Montagu, and laid down his battle club at his feet. Presented by Mrs. DASHWOOD LANG and Miss MONTAGU.

28.9-84

IMMEDIATELY.

# MAP OF A HUNDRED SQUARE MILES ROUND ABURY:

**With a Key to the British and Roman Antiquities  
occurring there.**

BY THE REV. A. C. SMITH,

*Rector of Yatesbury, and Hon. Secretary of the Wiltshire Archæological  
and Natural History Society.*

**T**HIS work, the materials of which have been accumulating for twenty-five years, is the result of innumerable rides and rambles over the Downs of North Wilts; and deals with one of the most important archæological Districts in Europe. It will be published and issued to subscribers by the Marlborough College Natural History Society, and it will consist of two parts:—

First.—The *Great Map*—78 inches by 48 inches, on the scale of 6 linear inches, or 36 square inches, to the mile; it comprises 100 square miles round Abury, and includes the great plateau of the Downs of North Wilts, extending from Oliver's Camp, on Roundway Hill, on the west, to Mildenhall on the east; and from Broad Hinton on the north, to the Pewsey Vale on the south. The district thus mapped measures 13 miles from west to east, and 8 miles from north to south. Every square mile, marked off with faint lines, lettered with a capital letter and numbered, will show the Barrows, Camps, Roads, Dykes, Enclosures, Cromlechs, Circles, and other British and Roman Stone- and Earth-works of that district; every such relic, being lettered with a small letter in its own square, is readily found and easily referred to. The Map will be printed in six colours, viz., the Antiquities in red, the Roads in brown, the Lanes and Down Tracks in green, the Sarsen Stones in yellow, and the Streams and Ponds in blue.

Second.—The *Key* to the Great Map,—which is by far the most important part of the work and will form a general “Guide to the British and Roman Antiquities of North Wilts,”—will be a volume of large quarto size, and will contain the whole of the large Map in fifteen sections, measuring 18 inches by 12, and four supplementary sections, each measuring 6 inches by 12. The Letterpress will contain some account of each of the Antiquities, with references to and extracts from the best authorities, as well as figures of various Urns and other objects found in the Barrows, views of the Cromlechs, plans of the Camps, &c. An Index Map, on the scale of 1 inch to the mile, coloured, numbered, lettered, and divided like the Great Map, will accompany the volume; and the whole will be a general account of the Antiquities of North Wilts, inasmuch as the district thus delineated embraces nearly all the remains of earliest times which exist in the northern portion of the County.

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No. LXIII.

JULY, 1883.<sup>4</sup>

VOL. XXI.

THE  
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Archæological and Natural History  
MAGAZINE,

Published under the Direction

OF THE

SOCIETY FORMED IN THAT COUNTY,

A.D. 1853,



DEVIZES:

PRINTED AND SOLD FOR THE SOCIETY BY H. F. BULL, SAINT JOHN STREET.

## NOTICE TO MEMBERS.

Members who have not paid their Subscriptions to the Society *for the current year*, are requested to remit the same forthwith to the Financial Secretary, Mr. WILLIAM NOTT, 15, High Street, Devizes, to whom also all communications as to the supply of Magazines should be addressed, and of whom most of the back Numbers may be had.

The Numbers of this Magazine will not be delivered, as issued, to Members who are in arrear of their Annual Subscriptions, and who on being applied to for payment of such arrears, have taken no notice of the application.

All other communications to be addressed to the Honorary Secretaries: the Rev. A. C. SMITH, Yatesbury Rectory, Calne; and H. E. MEDLICOTT, Esq., Sandfield, Potterne, Devizes.

The Rev. A. C. SMITH will be much obliged to observers of birds in all parts of the county, to forward to him notices of rare occurrences, early arrivals of migrants, or any remarkable facts connected with birds, which may come under their notice.

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*To be published by the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society.*

# THE FLORA OF WILTS.

BY THE REV. T. A. PRESTON, M.A.

The Author will be glad if any who could assist him with a list of plants in their several localities would kindly communicate with him. Early information is particularly desired. Address—Rev. T. A. PRESTON, *The Green, Marlborough.*

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## LARGE MAP OF ONE HUNDRED SQUARE MILES ROUND ABURY,

BY REV. A. C. SMITH.

In sheets, 7/6. In sections, bound in Atlas, 12/6.

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THE  
**WILTSHIRE**  
*Archæological and Natural History*  
**MAGAZINE.**

No. LXIII.

JULY, 1884.

VOL. XXI.

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THE  
WILTSHIRE MAGAZINE.

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"MULTORUM MANIBUS GRANDE LEVATUR ONUS." - *Ovid.*

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THE TWENTY-NINTH GENERAL MEETING

OF THE

Wiltshire Archæological & Natural History Society,

HELD AT ANDOVER,

Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, August 15th, 16th, and 17th,  
1883.

**T**HE Annual Meeting was held this year at Andover,<sup>1</sup> which, though beyond the borders of the county, offered a warm and hospitable welcome to the Members of the Society, and proved an excellent resting-place from whence to visit the south-eastern portions of Wiltshire, to which the Society had never before penetrated from any other centre. This was not the first time that the Annual Meeting had been held outside the county, for in 1861 Shaftesbury was selected, and proved an excellent basis from whence to explore the south-western districts of Wiltshire. On the present occasion, too, the Meeting, though thinly attended, was eminently successful, and when those parts of Wiltshire which were nearest to Andover had been examined, as was meet, on the first day's excursion, a visit by rail to Silchester and the Vyne, on the last day, proved a special treat to all who were so fortunate as to join in it.

The proceedings opened with the General Meeting of the Society, at the Town Hall, at two o'clock, for receiving the Report and

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<sup>1</sup> The Editor of the *Magazine* desires to acknowledge the very great assistance he has derived, in preparing the report of this Meeting, from the columns of the *Andover Standard*, the *Andover Advertiser*, and the *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette*.



transacting the usual business. At the outset, the Rev. A. C. SMITH (General Secretary) moved, in the name of the Committee, and in the absence of their late President (Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice), that Mr. Nevil Story Maskelyne be elected President of the Society for the next three years. It was needless, and it would be impertinent on his part, to describe Mr. Maskelyne's qualifications for the post; his name was known all over Europe in connection with science, and it was a great honour to the Society to gain the services of so eminent a man as their President. This proposition was seconded by Mr. H. CUNNINGTON (Curator of the Society's Museum at Devizes), and carried by acclamation.

The PRESIDENT ELECT, in taking the chair, said he would do his best to fulfil the duties they had imposed on him. He then called upon the Rev. A. C. SMITH to read the annual

#### REPORT FOR 1883.

"The Committee of the Wiltshire Archæological and Natural History Society has again the pleasure of congratulating its Members on the continued prosperity of the Society.

"It is true that we have lost several valued members by death, withdrawal, or removal from the county; amongst whom we must especially mention Mr. Miles, of Wexcombe, in the parish of Great Bedwyn, who has been a Member since the formation of the Society in 1853; and, within the last few weeks, Major Spicer, who most hospitably entertained the Society at Spye Park during the Chippenham Meeting, in 1874, and very effectually aided the efforts of the Committee in the purchase of its present Museum and Library, by coming forward when High Sheriff of the county, and taking the chair at a public meeting held to consider the question, and heading the subscription list with a donation of £50.

"But though we have lost no less than thirteen Members during the last twelvemonths, our numbers have been in some degree replaced by the enrolment of eleven new names, giving us a total of three hundred and seventy Members, which is a very slight decrease on the number announced last year.

"With regard to *Finance*, the annual account shows a balance in

favour of the Society of £251 15s. 10d. (including £150 invested in Consols), being an increase of £12 14s. 5d. in the year, this increase being more than made up by the balance, £18 4s. 6d., handed over to the Society by the Local Committee in respect of the Malmesbury Meeting.

“During the last year two more numbers of the *Magazine* have been issued, the twentieth volume having been completed and the twenty-first begun. Of the value of these publications it does not become the Editor to speak, but it is hoped that they are (thanks to many able and valued contributors) not inferior to the Magazines of kindred Societies in other counties.

“This has been an eventful year of work for the Society.

“The threatened desecration of the honoured precincts of Stonehenge, by the ‘Bristol and London and South Western Junction Railway,’ which proposed to cut through the Avenue and Cursus, aroused the active interference of the Society in January last; and by stirring up the ‘Society of Antiquaries’ and the ‘Archæological Institute of Great Britain,’ to protest and petition Parliament; and by appealing to every Member of the House of Commons (wherein they were cordially supported by most of the County and Borough Members of Wiltshire): and especially by the active opposition of the former and present Presidents of our Society (Sir John Lubbock, Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice, and Mr. Story Maskelyne,) the injury contemplated was prevented, and the line of railway averted from its proposed course.

“Another railway (the ‘Pewsey, Salisbury, and Southampton Railway,’) also threatened to invade ‘Vespasian’s Camp,’ near Amesbury, and the ‘Durrington Walls’; but the timely interference and energetic remonstrances of our President (Mr. Story Maskelyne) in Parliament, preserved those relics of antiquity from such profanation.

“We come now to the ‘*Stourhead Collections*,’ which—as is well known—have been lately brought into the market: and which (as being of the greatest value in the county where they were collected and to which they refer), your Committee immediately made every effort to secure. A general appeal was made to the Members of the

Society, and others interested in the antiquities of Wiltshire; and—thanks to the very liberal manner in which that appeal was met—a sum of money amounting to £380 has been collected, which has enabled the Secretaries to secure the ‘Antiquities’ (which for some years have been deposited in their Museum, classed, cased, and catalogued); and to purchase such books as especially related to Wiltshire, to the amount of about £135; thus preserving to the county to which they appertained the archæological treasures which Sir Richard Hoare had collected with such perseverance in Wiltshire, but which were in imminent danger of being dispersed.

“The labours of the Society afield during the past year have been confined to the examination last autumn of a large barrow on Overton Hill, the details of which have been given by Mr. Cunnington in the *Magazine* published last Christmas, and the examination of a Roman well, near Silbury, which has yet to be described.

“The *Museum* and *Library* have been immensely enriched by additions from the Stourhead Collections mentioned above, and have also been gradually increased by donations from several kind friends, amongst whom we must again especially mention Mr. Anderson, the director of the iron works at Westbury, who has forwarded many more and very admirable specimens of British-Roman pottery, as well as vases and implements of metal dug up in the immediate neighbourhood of Westbury.

“It remains to thank all those good friends who have so liberally supported us in various ways during the past twelvemonth, more especially in regard to the ‘Stourhead Collection Fund’; and herein we would record our special obligations to Canon Jackson, through whose kind offices the books which now grace our Library were selected and purchased for us at the Stourhead sale.

“In conclusion, your Committee desires once more to impress on all the Members the absolute necessity of hearty co-operation in carrying on the work of the Society. It is only by watchfulness, and careful observation, and accurate attention to apparently trivial details, that the objects of the Society can be efficiently attained. But by diligence and perseverance on the part of many Members in various districts of the county; it is hoped that not only the ancient

history of Wiltshire, but its Natural History also, in all its branches, is being effectually, though gradually, opened out."

Mr. CUNNINGTON said he had been requested (possibly because he was the oldest Member of the Society) to move the adoption of the report, and in doing so he wished to congratulate the Members upon the improvement in the position of the Society which the report indicated. Unquestionably the important additions made to the Library, by the purchases on behalf of the Society at the recent Stourhead sale by Canon Jackson, had greatly increased its value; and while regretting the loss to the county of a large number of books which the Society would gladly have obtained had the finances at its disposal have allowed, he sincerely hoped they had gone into the hands of gentlemen who would be inclined to remember the claims of the public library of Wiltshire at a future time, and that some of the valuable works referred to (which were so much more valuable in Wiltshire than they could be elsewhere) might ultimately be found in the position they ought to occupy, in connexion with the Wiltshire Collection of antiquities in the Museum at Devizes. The recent addition to that Museum of the Stourhead Collection was an event of much importance, and the Society was to be congratulated on the position it now occupied as the owner of a very valuable local museum. He hoped it would not be long ere a general catalogue was published, giving the history of the antiquities there exhibited, as attached to the particular barrows in which they were found, which would do more than anything else to promote a knowledge of the ethnological phase of the subject, this being one of the most important uses to which the Museum could be applied. Many of the specimens were valuable and unique, and the Society was deeply indebted to Sir Henry Hoare for the liberal terms upon which he had allowed the purchase to be made.

The Rev. CANON GODDARD seconded the motion, and after alluding to the satisfactory nature of the report, he referred to the progress which the Society had made since its inauguration.

The report was adopted.

Upon the motion of the PRESIDENT, the Officers of the Society were re-elected for the ensuing year.

The PRESIDENT then delivered his

### INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

I have never ceased to wonder how I came to be in this chair to-day. My only point of contact with archæology has been one far removed from the region in which Britons strove with Jutes, and Engles or Englishmen with Dane or Norman hosts. To find myself at all at home I should have to go behind the days of fossil Silchester, to those when Greece and her pupil in art—Rome—were living intellectual powers, and to the perhaps narrow department of their arts, the engraved gems in which they have made beautiful stones more beautiful, as speaking to the mind as well as to the eye, by animating them with the engraved legends of Greek mythology and hero-worship. But I fear that a discussion of engraved gems, my only archæological study, would be out of place here. So, in my perplexity two or three weeks ago, I asked my old friend and a more worthy predecessor in this office for his advice. Sir John Lubbock gave it at once. The Wilts Archæological Society, he said, is also a Natural History Society. Tell them something about flints. Well this, then, is what I propose to do: and when we look round us from any of those old-world "Castles," whose ramparts crown so many points of vantage on our chalk downs, whether in Wilts, Berks, or Hampshire, and see in the foreground of the panorama the rolling stretches of English turf, that grows and so grows only on our English chalk, I cannot help thinking that flint, the ubiquitous denizen of our chalk, ought to have some interest for all of us; at any rate, if we trample it under our feet or grind it to dust by our chariot wheels, we may for half-an-hour try to exalt it into an object of interest.

Well, then, I am going to speak to you of flints not as the rolled pebble, an alien and wanderer rolled about through ages in river-beds and on sea-beaches, or finding temporary rest from its wanderings in some gravel-bed, nor yet of flints as the favourite and favoured material for the implements of savage man, but flint as we find it in repose in the quiet layers of its first home, the chalk. Our lamented friend, Mr. Stevens, has made the archæological aspects of this



material classical in his "Flint Chips," and there is hardly an author, who has written on pre-historic man, who has not added something to our knowledge of what may be called the human relations of this constant universal companion of man in his less civilised condition. How recently, as compared with the span of man's existence, flint has afforded him an implement for war—leaving the flint gun-lock out of the question—is witnessed in the fact that the soil of Marathon, that battlefield to which every civilised man looks back as if "he too was a Greek," is full of flint arrow-heads.

The geologist, too, has of late stepped in to claim as common ground with the archæologist the record and history of whatever relates to the more primeval forms of fashioned flint.

For if the geologist is not one of those philosophers who consider that "the proper study of Mankind is Man," he at least recognises the importance of fossil man as the link that connects the long roll of the world's phases that have succeeded each other and have passed, with that living phase of the contemporary world in which man stands supreme among the creatures of God.

My purpose to-day is to trace the history of this mineral, flint, so ubiquitous and so important from the point of view of human development, not as the alien from its original birthplace in the chalk, but as we find it there, and as it may have been before it and the chalk that contains it were lifted from the depths of the cretaceous ocean. And my endeavour will be to put before you in a logical and I hope intelligible form the evidence that the flints themselves afford as to their origin beneath that ocean. That history is not complete, but I think at least we can fill in its general outlines. If the archæologist and the historian, for whom he finds the materials, reason from the written records of the past, as interpreted by still extant relics of the outer world to which those records refer, no less must the geologist, who is a historian in the large sense of the word, draw his records from the evidence written in the flint itself, and from the conditions in which the flint is found in its first home, the chalk.

For stones are never mute if you know their language. What then do these flints say? Let us first study their language and

their kindred. I remember an old answer to the question, "What is flint?" was one a Roman might have given. "Why it's silex." The mineralogist will give a fuller but still an incomplete answer, for the biologist will have yet to add an important contribution to it. The mineralogist will tell you that flint is a mineral similar in composition to quartz crystal and to chalcedony, and therefore also to agate, onyx, sard, chert, jasper, and a tribe of substances, beautiful, many of them, and wonderfully varied in aspect and colour. He will tell you that these minerals have a common composition, or, rather, have for their predominating ingredient the substance called *silica*, or *silicon di-oxide*, which is the oxide of an element, silicon, and which further has the nature of an acid, and forms when combined with bases a series of compounds or "salts" termed *silicates*. And he will tell you that the crust of the world is, to a very largely predominating amount, composed of the classes of rocks, the ingredients of which are silicates or silica, or both: *i.e.*, that most rocks are either mixtures of different silicates, or of such silicates with an admixture of quartz, the crystallised variety of silica; or again they may consist of sandstone, which is little else than silica, generally as quartz, in the form of a compacted sand.

Hollows in certain of these rocks that have at one time, under the influence of subterranean heat, flowed as lavas, are found to contain the uncrystallised form of silica known as chalcedony in a variety of mineral forms, such as agate, jasper, &c. But chalcedony is found in mines and elsewhere under conditions where no fusion and no heat has ever come near the place in which the mineral occurs.

It may be seen, for instance, frequently coating the hollows of the flints you may pick up in Pewsey Vale, or at Folkestone, and other places, covering them with a beautiful botryoidal or smooth grape-like surface, with often a sort of bloom on it like a plum. Here no subterranean heat has approached the beds in which the flints have lain.

Indeed the facts regarding properties of chalcedony and its formation in Nature all point to the conclusion that it has been deposited not by the agency of heat, but from solution in water, generally as

the result of chemical changes in the solution ; and even crystallised quartz has in most cases certainly had a similar origin, though its presence in certain igneous rocks points to its being also in some cases formed where a high temperature reigned. The beautiful mineral, agate, is chalcedony for the most part. Its banded structure, its waved succession of parallel layers, some translucent and some opaque, are too familiar to need description ; but, numerous and delicate as are the layers, which are the characteristic features of agate, they point to the certain conclusion that each successive layer has been deposited after one on which it lies. Indeed, each layer has in general a character of its own, by which it differs from the adjacent layer, it may be in thickness, or in colour, or in transparency, or porosity.

These latter differences are in general due to the variable proportions in which the amorphous (or uncrystalline) kind of silica, chalcedony, is mixed with the crystalline variety of the same substance, quartz, which is intimately associated with the chalcedony in crystalline particles too minute for distinct recognition in the microscope.

Let us consider this for a moment, for it bears in an important manner on our flint problem. Quartz and chalcedony, though identical in composition, present very remarkable points of difference: chalcedony is lighter than quartz in the proportion of about four to five, and it is very readily dissolved in the alkalis potash or soda, or their carbonates. Quartz is not so. Let us go a little further into the chemistry of these dual phases of the same substance. When silica is first separated from certain of the silicates—and this is easily effected by means of a stronger acid—the separated silica presents itself as a hydrated silicic acid in a more or less jelly-like form ; and in this condition, though very soft and gelatinous, and, when dried, brittle and fragile, it can under proper conditions be obtained of a hardness sufficient to scratch glass. It then has a horn-like aspect, much resembling chalcedony, though in composition it is more nearly allied to another mineral form of silica, containing a considerable amount of combined water, namely, opal.

But if the experiment of separating the silicic acid be performed

with certain precautions; if, for instance, a dilute solution of so-called "water-glass," which is an alkaline silicate, be poured into an excess of acid; the silica does not all fall as a jelly, but a certain amount of it remains in the liquid as *dissolved silica*. It was with silica so dissolved that the late Professor Graham made some of his remarkable observations on *diffusion*, that is to say, on the greater or less facility with which two liquids can permeate, each the other; an enquiry founded on the principle that the velocities with which the molecules of one substance will spontaneously interpenetrate between those of another substance, in the process of mutual transfusion, are very different. This process plays an important part in the chemistry and physics of Nature, and I must ask your attention to it in so far as it affects the problem we are discussing. If the liquid containing silica separated by an acid, from an alkaline silicate, and retained dissolved in the liquid, be placed in a vessel with a bottom or a side formed of some porous material, such as a bit of parchment paper, and dipped in a beaker of water, the other ingredients will pass away through the porous diaphragm in the outward direction, leaving behind the silica dissolved in water, for some of the water will pass inwards into the inner vessel from the beaker. The reason of this is, that substances of the *type* which Graham termed *colloids*, move through the pores of such a diaphragm, or indeed along any tube of fine bore, with extraordinary sluggishness, as compared with the facile transit with which other substances, belonging to what he called the *crystalloid type*, will permeate the diaphragm or traverse the narrow tube.

The acids and the salts in the solution belong to the latter type, and are thus dialysed more rapidly into the outer beaker than is the case with the silica solution, which being of the colloid or gelatinising type, is left almost entirely behind.

The particles of colloid bodies such as gelatinised silica have, furthermore, a remarkable tendency to adhere together, and to shrink to a compact mass; and they shew a preferential tendency in one colloid body to aggregate to itself the particles of any other colloid body not necessarily of a similar nature with itself, and to cohere with it: while towards a crystalloid body, on the other

hand, a colloid body presents great indifference in this respect.

Albumen and isinglass are colloid bodies, for they are incapable of crystallisation; so also is glass, and Graham cites as a curious illustration of the property just alluded to, that isinglass allowed to dry in a glass vessel adheres to it so firmly and itself contracts so resolutely as to tear the glass asunder as it dries and contracts upon it; whereas it will not adhere with any force to quartz crystal or to a plate of mica. The silica contained in solution in water continually tends to separate in a colloid condition, and to contract and ultimately become hard, but this separation takes place more slowly as the solution is more dilute and cold, provided there is no gelatinous colloid to draw the dissolved portion to itself. The phenomena presented by agate direct the mind at once to this process of dialysis as the clue to the enigma of agate formation.

I have stated that agates are found in igneous rocks, and that they occur in round or oval almond-shaped masses. To explain them we have to suppose that the amygdaloidal cavities formed by gases confined in the flowing lava have, after the rock has cooled, been left empty of all but gas, and during a long succession of ages these cavities have been continually filled and refilled with water permeating the rock, perhaps intermittently, according as wet and dry periods or seasons may have succeeded each other, and this water, perhaps thermal, would from the nature of the rock it has traversed be highly charged with silica, or at least with silicates in solution.

The laminae that we see following the form of the cavity generally exhibit an apparent streaming towards a tube-like entrance into the cavity from without; sometimes there are several of these. By these the water in the rock must be supposed to have entered the cavity; and the circulation or introduction of fresh supplies of mineral-charged water into the cavity will correspond to the changes in saturation in the rock, and probably also in the nature of the chemical substances it may hold in solution. Intermittent conditions in these latter respects may cause repetitions of exchange by transfusion between the liquid in the cavity and that in the rock, through the open feeding tubes. But while this goes on through the tube-entrances, another process is in action on the walls

of the cavity. These act as a diaphragm for the dialysis of the imprisoned liquid, a film of silica deposited on them in a gelatinous form would be the first step in the dialysing process; and this will be one of exfiltration of the ingredients other than the silica, which remains behind, these ingredients passing through the walls of the cavity, while the silica remains in a colloid form; and this will have subsequently shrunk and passed by the ultimate deprivation of its water into a delicate layer of chalcedony, or what we may term incipient chalcedony, for its conversion into that mineral will need enormous time. The repetition of the process, sometimes more slowly, sometimes more rapidly, would cause the deposition of the agate material in successive layers, some with more and some with less of the foreign substances, to which varieties in colour would be due. In some of these layers quartz has been deposited, in the so-called microcrystalline condition, that is to say, in microscopically minute crystals disseminated through the still colloid chalcedony. In all of them some of the silica has changed from the soluble to the insoluble and denser condition. Perhaps the nature and the character of the other ingredients present and extruded from the crystals regulate the amount of the colloid silica that passes into the insoluble crystalloid form or becomes actually crystallised. Colloid silica heated to a strong red heat passes into the insoluble variety. But the problem of the conversion at ordinary temperatures of colloid silica into crystallised quartz, or into the crystalloid form of silica no longer easily soluble in alkalis, is one for the solution of which we must look to analogies only; for we have no actual experience as witness of the change. The spontaneous conversion of transparent barley sugar (a colloid form of sugar) into opaque and in fact coryptocrystalline sugar is a case in point. Arsenious acid will also, after the lapse of many years, spontaneously develop a crystalline form in the substance of its glassy and colloid mass. And probably it is in this way that the insoluble silica which alkalis do not attack in flint and agate—and the crystals of quartz which often line the cavities in both substances—have taken their origin.

I have dwelt on the case of agate as being one in which we can foreshadow the method—however incompletely we can explain it—

by which the chalcedony has been deposited in one important illustration.

In the case of flints, however, we have not to deal with laminations like those of an agate, though the problem has many points of analogy with that of the formation of agate.

We have on the other hand a singularly homogenous material, marked, it is true, with variegations of tint when we examine the interior, but the forms and contour assumed by flints are sufficiently often recognisable as those of organisms to prove that we have not in dealing with them to do with a simply inorganic product formed in the heart of an already solidified rock, but with *an organism* converted into flint by a process that has caused silica, accompanied it is true by more or less of impurities, to penetrate every pore and portion of the organism, and to preserve it in the place where it once lived, or at least where its dead form once lay. Its very colour is, in part at least, due to organic matter retained in it. In the agates we were dealing with an exfiltration from within outwards, an outward directed dialysis of the more easily flowing material. It is possible that in the case of flint we have, at least in the majority of cases, a very slow process of infiltration, involving a gradual penetration and retention in the canals and pores of the organism of the colloid silica originally contained dissolved in small amount in the water of the ocean, or as alkaline silicate, or even possibly in a more complex condition as a double silicate.

II.—But we are anticipating in these statements the verdict of the biologist as to the nature of flint. Microscopic research has shewn both chalk and the flint that traverses it to be composed nearly entirely of protozoic organisms; the chalk consisting in a very large degree of an aggregate of the minute cellular (or *foraminiferous*) *Rhizopod* (or root-like footed) class of creatures. These minute organisms secrete a shell covering of carbonate of lime, in certain rarer cases of silica, and some again secrete no shell—the calcareous *Rhizopods* then must have existed through long ages in countless billions at the bottom of the chalk ocean, and built up by their remains the vast deposits which now rise around us in our downs as chalk. Flints, on the other hand, show in their form,

and often in the traces of internal structure, that the great majority of them once were sponges, which always contain silicious spiculæ, and of which many deep sea species are largely composed of an entanglement of fibrous spiculæ, consisting of silica. The protozoic animals (*Porifera*) that occupy the porous and tubular structure of the sponge have their wants supplied by a circulation throughout that structure, propagated by a ciliary movement of their own, of the water of the ocean-bottom on which they live.

The canals which this circulation traverses, as well as the whole sponge itself, are lined with a gelatinous envelope, and the minute zooids that build and inhabit the sponge take their nourishment at orifices in this envelope. Now, supposing sea-water to contain dissolved silica, such a structure as a dead sponge is evidently well calculated to form an apparatus for attracting the silica from the water along the whole course of the canal-system, and in the interior of the sponge so soon as the organism is no longer able to carry on the necessary vital processes of ingestion and expulsion of the materials brought to it by the sea-water for its nourishment. But flints exhibit the structure of bodies other than sponges. Occasionally the shell of a dead echinus or of some other denizen of the upper water of the ocean is found silicified as flint; and here it is evident that silica has been deposited inside the shell, and not outside of it, which is hard to be explained, except on the supposition that the dialysis was in this case from within outwards, the silicic solutions entering by the two orifices of the empty shell, in the case of the dead echinus, and depositing their silica, while the more limpid liquid found exit through the dead shell structure; and this process would continue until the whole was filled with silica, provided that the entrance orifices were not closed to the sea-water. Where they are so a hollow is left, and generally quartz crystals are then found in it as in the case of the agates. Minute remains of diatomaceous and desmidian plants in the form of silicious shields secreted by the plant bear witness to a large development of this class of life at and near the ocean-surface, the indestructible dèbris of these forms of life falling gradually to the sea bottom, and adding to its silicious material.



Thus far, then, we have drawn out our subject to this point, that at the bottom of a tranquil ocean calcareous mud was deposited by the continual accretion of minute foraminiferous organisms, the vast cemetery of whose dead structures was perpetually growing in thickness as fresh millions upon millions of globigerine and other foraminiferous creatures lived and died upon it. In this calcareous mud would, of course, be imbedded any shells of shell-bearing animals whose life was passed and ended in the supernatant ocean. At the same time, and at the dark and tranquil depths at which this ocean-floor lay spread, the conditions were present for sponge life to be luxuriant, and when one generation of sponges became overgrown, or gave place to fresh successors in the struggle for life, admirable conditions would be afforded by the perished or perishing organisms for the adherence and the dialysis of colloid silica into their interior. There it would adhere to their spiculæ, which consist of silica, itself in the colloidal condition. It would enter and ultimately fill the whole canal-system of the sponge, and finally surround and seal it with a silicious envelope of adherent matter, not, however, concealing its general outline and form. The diatom—and desmid—shields would be entangled in the mass, and the formation of a flint bed as the result of this process continuing through a certain era of time would be conceivable.

Yes, conceivable: but only to be received as a true possible cause of the mode in which chalk and flint have been formed if two further requirements can be satisfied, viz., that the sea-water contains silica in solution to an appreciable amount, and that the separate formation, whether contemporaneous or successive, of the calcareous rock and the silicious flint-bed can find a reasonable explanation in the conditions that must, or that with probability might, have prevailed at the profound depth of that ocean-floor, from 10,000 to 15,000 feet below the region to which the last traces of light could reach. To the first of these questions the answer has been given by Forchammer, who found in sea-water one part of dissolved silica in thirty thousand to fifty thousand parts of the water. In fact, the existence of swarms of minute vegetable organisms secreting silicious shells or shield-cases in mid-ocean is its sufficient answer. But an abundance

on the sea-bottom of silicious sponges has been supposed to indicate that under the enormous pressure of the deep ocean, and in the presence of accumulated and accumulating silicious remains of *polycistina* and other silicious organisms, the dissolving action of the water on the colloid silica so accumulated may be enhanced; or, on the other hand, it may be that the opposite result might take place, and that the dissolved silica in the sea would more readily separate in gelatinous form under the conditions of the sea-bottom. It seems probable that in one way or other colloid silica is accumulated in the neighbourhood of the sponges; but if it be not so, time, the inexhaustible paper-money of the geologist, has only to be drawn upon largely and the sponges would be as completely (perhaps more entirely because more gradually) saturated with the silicious ingredient which is now flint. An answer to the second question has been given by Dr. Wallick. The Atlantic ocean-floor is at this day covered, over considerable portions of its area, by a species of slime which has had many explanations. It is of the nature of an organism of an elementary type, presenting sarcoid characters under the microscope. Dr. Wellick considers it to be what he calls sponge protoplasm. Whatever it be, it is associated with the globigerine (a foraminiferous) ooze which forms the deep mud of the Atlantic, and which is so nearly identical in feature with the chalk as the chalk must have been when itself a white mud, that the question is gravely asked whether the chalk ocean has ever ceased to roll from the day when a great part of Europe was under its waves, to this day, when its boundaries are the shores of the Atlantic. Dr. Wellick's view is that during the period when the upper chalk was being formed this light protoplasmic film may be said to have in a certain sense floated on the denser foraminiferous mud; that the silicious materials of dead organisms fell on it and accumulated there; that the amount of silica in an assimilable form continually increased in that horizon of the ocean, as a consequence; and that the Porifera so formed the best conditions for their growth.

After a time the accumulations of silicious organisms and material became too compact for buoyancy, and then the layer containing them became fixed *in situ*, while over it fresh generations of

foraminiferous life were developed and perished in building their own vast cenotaph of calcareous ooze. Soon, however, would a fresh era of poriferous life begin; a new protoplasmic scum would appear, and again the great silicious sponges would rear their forms and float on the calcareous ooze; and so in oft repeated succession foraminiferous and poriferous life would alternately wax and wane and leave the records of their history in what is now the chalk cliff and its intercalated bands of flint. No doubt in the long struggle for existence the waxing and the waning of its own form of life would be gradual in each case. As the sponge layer became denser the rhizopod layer would find the conditions for its existence less favourable. But as the former became more rigid the foraminifera would again assert themselves in their former vigorous growth, and under the wreck of their succeeding generations would eventually cover over and deeply bury the silicified and still silicifying sponge-bed with chalky ooze.

Such an explanation has much to recommend it to our minds as a *vera causa*. Silica would be absent, or nearly so, from the chalk-ooze, since the dialysing process would be continuous—nay, might be continuing now in our chalk hills if there were still silicious matter to be eliminated by rain water from the chalk. Indeed, a process of this kind is going on in the action of the water on the flint itself. Agate and flint alike, when exposed to the action of weathering, that is to say, to the action of rain or river water, charged as the former always is with carbonic acid and ammonia, and as the latter generally also is with alkaline carbonates and salts, undergo a change. Soluble silica—chalcedonic silica—is extracted from them, and the surface of the agate or flint is eroded and becomes porous, the solid residue being silica that has become insoluble in the manner I alluded to before as a probable result of a change very slowly affecting the original chalcedony. The sponge-like surface, however, is now found to have its hollows filled with carbonate of lime and other ingredients foreign to the original mineral.

There is still much to be done in completing the explanation of the origin of flint. The sketch I have given represents, I think, the most probable account of the matter from our present point of view. The history of a curious silicious substance that occurs in

layers also in the hard chalk—the well-known rubble stone of the downs—may throw some further light on it. It appears to be incompletely-formed flint, and needs investigation.

I have now concluded my task: one, I fear, not entirely congenial with the interests and the lines of thought that belong to archæology. But one thing at least I may ask you to recognise, while apologising for so dreary a discourse, and that is the continuity of historical sequence in the long roll of time of which, through at least the later ages of our venerable world, the subject of my discourse, flint, has been a constant, and, I hope you will allow, a not un-eloquent witness.

The Rev. CANON JACKSON proposed a vote of thanks to the President for the able address he had delivered. Mr. Maskelyne had (he said) shown by the ability and the masterly knowledge of the subject, which the address displayed, that he was well qualified to take the chair not only in their little county society, but in a society of natural philosophers, who were much further advanced in that subject than the Wiltshire Archæological Society could pretend to be. Their's was an archæological society, it was true, but while they simply pretended to explain the history of a Church, castle, or any other building, Mr. Maskelyne could tell them the history of the very stones of which those buildings were constructed. That was what he (Canon Jackson) called an archæologist of archæologists. Mr. Maskelyne was the author of a most valuable paper which had appeared in the *Wiltshire Archæological Magazine*, containing the history and an analysis of the substances of which the different stones of Stonehenge are formed, and he (Canon Jackson) sincerely hoped he would allow them to add to the *Magazine* the address he had just delivered. They should then be able to hand down to posterity the history not only of the stones of Stonehenge, but also of the chalk and flint with which they were so familiar.

Mr. F. W. BUXTON, M.P., in seconding it, said he hardly knew why he had been called on for this most pleasant duty, but it might be that being outside their world he could show that they were united with the elect in returning thanks to him for his paper. He was sure as one of the laymen, and one of the uneducated laymen,

he was equally interested and surprised with what the chairman had told them, as he had carried them much farther back in the subject of archæology than he had expected. He had looked for some remarks on the history as concerned man, but he found the chairman had gone much deeper into the subject and had carried them back into the history of the soil itself. From what the speaker knew of Mr. Maskelyne he felt sure their society had taken a step that would prove of immense advantage to them, and from the care in which he had prepared the paper read he felt confident that as President of their Society he would advance their prospects during his term of office. (The vote was carried with acclamation.)

The VICAR OF ANDOVER, The Rev. C. Collier, F.S.A., President of the Andover Archæological Society, then read a very interesting paper on "Andover and its Neighbourhood," which will be found in an after part of this *Magazine*.

Mr. W. W. RAVENHILL, Recorder of Andover, thought that one of the most pleasing duties that had ever fallen upon him fell upon him now, and that was to propose a vote of thanks to Mr. Collier for his able paper. From his reports they would get a most valuable history of the town, one worthy of the town, and one worthy of his long-trying experience in one of the most archæological of towns—Winchester. It was a happy thought for the Wilts Archæological Society to come here, where parts of Wilts could easily be reached; and it was also a happy thought that they came here before Mr. Collier was translated to a bishopric. From the first, Mr. Collier, their kind Mayor, and everybody in the town had given them much assistance, and a very warm welcome, and in saying that he thought he had said enough for the present.

The MAYOR said he was very pleased indeed to have the opportunity of seconding the vote of thanks to Mr. Collier for his very able paper. He was sure it was most interesting, especially to the inhabitants, and very gratifying to find that he had gone so deeply into the matter, and searched (as he must have done) to get so much information to place before them on this occasion. There was only one thing to which he would allude, and that was to the point that, as Mayor of the Borough, he happened to be the custodian

of some things belonging to the Church. They might be very valuable, and they might have got into a bad state, but as it was they would be taken care of, and, no doubt, would be accessible to the Vicar at any time.

The VICAR said for much of the information he had given them he was indebted to the Corporation, for never was a Corporation more liberal, nor a Mayor more kind to him than Mr. J. Moore, in this matter.

The Rev. R. H. CLUTTERBUCK then gave a brief but lucid and interesting account of the objects contained in the Loan Museum, and on the proposition of the President, the thanks of the Meeting were warmly accorded to him, and also to the Mayor for the assistance he had rendered to the Society.<sup>1</sup>

The company then dispersed for a stroll through the town, and a visit to the Church, the bells of which rang out merry peals.

### THE ANNUAL DINNER

took place at the "Star and Garter Hotel," at 6, p.m., the PRESIDENT in the chair, when the usual loyal and complimentary toasts were given; and at its conclusion the company adjourned to the Town Hall, where a conversazione was held at 8, p.m., the President of the Society in the chair. Two excellent papers were read, the first on "Ludgershall Castle and its History," by the Rev. W. H. AWDRY, Rector of Ludgershall; and the other, "Notes on the Borders of Wilts and Hants," by the Rev. CANON JACKSON, F.S.A.; both of which, it is hoped, will appear in the *Magazine*.

At the conclusion of the papers the CHAIRMAN proposed a hearty vote of thanks to their authors, which was carried by acclamation; and then called upon the Rev. R. H. CLUTTERBUCK to give a short

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<sup>1</sup> We deeply regret to say that Mr. J. Moore, the late Mayor of Andover, who was indefatigable in his efforts to promote the success of the Meeting, and threw himself, with all his heart, into the work, died at the early age of 52, on the first of January last; to the sincere sorrow of his fellow-townsmen generally, a sorrow which will be shared by every member of the Society who was present at the Andover Meeting.

account of Bury Hill, but that gentleman thought the evening too far advanced, and proposed to reserve his remarks for the following night. The company then accepted the hospitable invitation of the Mayor and Mayoress of Andover to partake of tea and coffee, which were served in the Council Chamber, and this terminated the first day's proceedings.

## SECOND DAY, THURSDAY, AUGUST 16TH.

This day's excursion was devoted to the south-eastern portions of Wiltshire; and at nine o'clock some forty excursionists assembled at the Town Hall, and started for Penton Mewsey, where they were met by the Rev. W. H. SIMCOX (Rector of Weyhill), who most obligingly pointed out the objects of chief interest in the Church, of which a fourteenth century window and the bell-turret were most admired by the archæologists. Thence to Weyhill, where again Mr. SIMCOX acted as cicerone, and where again there was much of interest to delay the visitors, the chancel roof, the windows, and certain carved stones let into the wall giving rise to much discussion. The next move was to Ludgershall, where the Rev. W. H. AWDRY (Rector of the parish) took the party in hand and pointed out the various objects which he had so ably described the previous evening. The Castle was the first place examined, and here Mr. Awdry called attention to the traces which remained of the outer and inner circles of the ancient fortress, and gave it as his opinion that in the rude and massive fragments of the building certain portions of herring-bone masonry suggested Roman formation; though this was not universally accepted; but all agreed that the window was undoubtedly Norman. The banks and ditches encircling this castle are still of formidable dimensions; the well, too, still remains, measuring 110 feet in depth. Proceeding round the encampment Mr. Awdry now conducted the party to the curious old cross, with its much-mutilated and weather-worn sculpture, and told how this ancient relic once had a narrow escape of being used as building material, having been rescued, after its demolition had begun, about thirty years ago, by the then curate of the parish. From the cross the visitors were conducted to the sites—and only the sites, for no

vestige of them remained—of the old banqueting-hall, the bowling green, and the “Cursed Plot,” as one portion of the castle was called: and then to the Church, which showed traces of the original Norman building, as well as much interesting work of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. And now the hospitable Rector conducted the archæologists to the rectory, where he had provided refreshments on a liberal scale, of which he invited his numerous guests to partake. After suitable acknowledgments to him for his liberality and courtesy towards the Society on the part of the President, the party next visited the Church at North Tedworth, which presented many details of interest; and then drove to the foot of Sidbury Hill, where they left the carriages, and climbed to the camp which crowned its summit. Probably nothing in the whole day’s excursion elicited such warm approval as the situation of this immense camp, whose area occupies the flattened crown of this most commanding and isolated hill. On all sides stretched the downs below the hill, and on almost every side the prospect embraced a very large tract of country: indeed it was asserted by more than one enthusiastic visitor that no other camp in North or South Wilts could compete with Sidbury in situation. The archæologists were not content until they had walked round the outer rampart, said to be a mile in circumference, and then it was with considerable reluctance they turned their backs on this charming spot, and descended the hill, though it was to assemble at the luncheon tables prepared in a tent amongst some trees at the foot of Sidbury.

South Tedworth Church was the next halting-place, an old Church well restored, and containing much of interest: and then a visit was paid to the highly-decorated and very beautiful new Church in Tedworth Park, where everything that costly material, admirable workmanship, unlimited funds, and artistic skill could effect, was lavishly supplied. A very short drive now brought the party to the mansion, where SIR JOHN KELK courteously received his numerous guests, and conducted them first through the picture gallery and library, pointing out the many valuable works of art there, and then to the dining-room, where light refreshments—tea and coffee and fruit—were liberally provided; and afterwards through the gardens,



pleasure-grounds, and stables, from which our archæologists seemed unwilling to part. At length, however, though not until long after the hour named in the programme, the Secretary's whistle was obeyed; but there was only time to pay a very hurried visit to the interesting Church of Thrupton, where the Rector (the Rev. H. D. BAKER) pointed out what was most worthy of notice; and then omitting altogether Abbots Ann and Bury Hill, both of which had been proposed for inspection, the archæologists drove straight back to Andover, which was not reached till nearly eight o'clock.

The conversazione did not begin till nearly nine o'clock, the PRESIDENT in the chair, when two able papers were read; one, "A Dismal Depression in 1622," by the Rev. R. H. CLUTTERBUCK; and another, "A Crime of the Seventeenth Century," by W. W. RAVENHILL, Esq., Recorder of Andover; both of which papers will, it is hoped, appear in the *Magazine*, and for both of which the PRESIDENT offered the thanks of the Meeting.

The Rev. R. H. CLUTTERBUCK then gave a short general description of Silchester, to be visited in next day's excursion, and an outline of what remains of that Roman town, and a summary—so far as is known—of its history. The PRESIDENT (as this was the last occasion of meeting in Andover) said he could not take leave of those who had so kindly received the Society without expressing their hearty thanks; first to the Mayor, for his hospitality and for all the trouble he had taken to make the Meeting successful: then to Mr. C. Clarke, for the arrangements he had made for their comfort, which he had carried out with so much ability: last, but not least, to the Vicar, and to the Rev. R. H. Clutterbuck, for the great aid they had respectively rendered in putting before them all that was most noteworthy in the town of Andover and its neighbourhood. After a cordial vote of thanks to the President, on the motion of the Rev. A. C. SMITH, and after partaking of the refreshments, again provided by the Mayor and Mayoress, the archæologists separated, after a long but very interesting day.

### THIRD DAY, FRIDAY, AUGUST 17TH.

The archæologists, somewhat reduced in number, assembled this

morning at Andover Junction Station, on the main line, at 8.15; and went by rail to Basingstoke, which they reached at 9.10. Here they found carriages awaiting them, and drove first to Sherborne St. John, where they found enough of interest to detain them for a considerable time, but when they reached the Vyne, where they were most courteously received by the owner, C. W. CHUTE, Esq., they were so charmed with the fine old house and its contents, which were in turn carefully pointed out to them by Mr. Chute, as he personally conducted them up-stairs and down, over the building, that they could with difficulty tear themselves away from so fascinating a spot: so that when (the PRESIDENT having expressed the obligations of the Society to Mr. Chute) the carriages made the best of their way to Silchester, the morning was already far advanced, before the walls of the old town were entered. Here the party was received by Mr. J. Martineau, of Park Corner, Heckfield, who had most kindly consented to conduct it over the ruins, and very able and thoroughly acquainted with Silchester the cicerone proved himself to be. The Rev. A. G. Joyce also, in the most friendly manner, offered his services, and acted as guide to a detachment of the excursionists. Much lamentation was generally expressed at the sad state of neglect and the daily injury to the ruins, which were permitted by the noble owner of this very interesting spot. Mosaic pavement which had been carefully uncovered and protected, now broken up, exposed to the atmosphere, and scattered over the ground; the foundation walls of buildings which had been traced and unearthed, and the flues which heated them, now broken down, carried away, or destroyed. Still, enough remains of these buildings and of the massive walls, a mile in circuit, which surround the town, to make Silchester one of the most interesting examples of Roman occupation left in England; and it was not till the archæologists had thoroughly satisfied their curiosity, by wandering over every part of it, that they assembled for luncheon in a barn hard by, which the forethought of the Commissariat Sub-Committee at Andover had secured for them. So long a delay had taken place, first at the Vyne, and then at Silchester, that again the return journey was somewhat hurried, and the picturesque ruins of the old Chapel at Basingstoke could

alone be visited, other intended halts having been necessarily omitted: and then the party returned to Andover by rail, in time to disperse over North and South Wilts and elsewhere by the last trains from Andover Junction; carrying with them, we feel sure, a lively recollection of the hospitalities of Andover, and of the success of the Andover Meeting.

This very brief outline of a most interesting day's excursion would seem unsatisfactory, but that it will be supplemented, in an after page of the *Magazine*, by Mr. Clutterbuck's general description of Silchester, mentioned above, as well as by some description of the Vyne, by no less competent an exponent than the courteous owner.

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## “*Andover and its Neighbourhood.*”

By the Rev. C. COLLIER, M.A., F.S.A.,

*Vicar of Andover, and President of the Andover Archaeological Society.*

(Read before the Society at the Meeting at Andover, August 15th, 1885.)

**T**HE name of our town, Andover, is probably from Dwfr—the Celtic word for water—pronounced Doover, and the prefix an. This prefix may have been derived in this way. There was a great king of East Anglia named Anna, son of Eni; and, as Wilkes, the Editor of Woodward's “History of Hants,” states the case, “Kenwalh, King of the West Saxons, who was driven out of his kingdom by King Penda, took refuge with Anna, and probably, therefore, Kenwalh gave a grant of land in this district to Anna on the return of the former to his kingdom. It is a fact that the country around here was called the An country and the word enters into the structure of many names of places in this district, as Abbots Ann, Anton, Enham, and others.” The Saxon name is Andefer; and in Domesday Book we have Andovere. In many later documents we have Andever.

Our town is so near Wilts that we come within the range of its history. The prehistoric remains of the east part of that county are to some extent the same as ours. The ancient pit-dwellers near Redenham Park would frequent the borders of both counties. The

British oppida of Wilts seem to run in the same great range with ours. Our Bury Hill and the neighbouring Worlbury, Danebury, Fosbury, form a line with Sidbury, Ogbury, and grand old Sarum. Andover, therefore, is surrounded by the most ancient of all remains, and may have been a settlement (as its name would imply) of the aborigines of this district. The dwellers here were amongst those who shared in the protection afforded by the neighbouring Bury Hill; and in all probability when the Belgæ drove the people (then dwelling here) from their lands, the people of Andover would be amongst the plundered and homeless. Bury Hill is a fine specimen of the British oppidum. It would seem to me to have been afterwards occupied by the Romans as one of their castra æstiva, and I would ask the visitors to notice on Bury Hill a somewhat extended platform beyond the ditch to the north, an unusual part of such oppida. The Devil's Ditch, beyond Finkley Farm, is a portion of the boundary lines or Belgic ditches, many of which exist in this neighbourhood. I would remark that the theory is given up which would interpret the word Ando, on the reverse of some Celtic gold coins, as Andover.

It may be well here to give the notices of Andover in pre-historic times which are found in the recent work of Dr. Guest—the “*Origines Celticæ.*” The words of such a master have a very high value. He says:—“We may be allowed to conjecture that the Amesbury mounds were once connected with the Devil's Ditch, east of Andover, and with the Belgic boundary-line, a fragment of which still remains to the south of Walbury.” Elsewhere he says:—“At this ditch, which was raised by the Atrebrates, the wayfarer from Old Sarum must have halted and paid the toll.”<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> At a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries in 1854, Mr. Akerman read an account of his researches in Hants during that year. At Wallop (a village not far from Andover) he explored a tumulus known as Kent's or Canute Barrow, in the interior of which was found a cubic yard of rude masonry, the flints of which it was composed were held together by mould, and so firmly set was the mass that it required some force to separate them. Nothing of a similar description has been observed hitherto in England, and it remains a question whether this mass was formed for an altar or a cenotaph. Mr. J. M. Kemble, who was present at the opening of the tumulus, questioned its Celtic origin, but Capt. Durrich and Mr Wylie were of a different opinion.

Was Andover a Roman settlement? I am not aware that any bronze remains or stone buildings of that people have been found in the town; but we have ample evidence that Andover was in the midst of the villas, roads, and camps of that people.

We are surrounded by Roman remains—east, west, north, and south. On the east we have the Roman road, running to Cirencester. On the north, the road to Silchester, called the Port Way, sometimes called the Icknild Street. On the south we have Rooksbury, or, as it is sometimes called, Balksbury, a camp below Bury Hill. And on the west and north-west the villas of Thruxton and Redenham.

At Redenham Park were found the floors of four rooms of a Roman villa. They ran south-east and north-west, and altogether measured some 40ft. by 17ft. The two middle rooms were each 13ft. across, and those at the end 6ft. The remains at Thruxton consisted of a pavement, probably of a dining-room. In the centre was represented a Bacchus on a leopard. Above ran the legend "Quintus Natalius Natalinus et Bodeni. To the north of the pavement were graves containing five skeletons. Coins of the Constantines and later Emperors were found on the site, close to the old Roman road running to Silchester. Southward, in the minster field at Abbot's Ann, were found traces of a large Roman villa. There can be no doubt that a large Roman settlement existed in the district, west, north-east, and south-west of Andover.

The Roman road leading from Venta Belgarum to Cirencester crosses the Port Way within a mile of Andover. The first-named retains all its original features as it passes through Harewood Forest, about two miles from Andover; and every traveller by the rail between Grateley and Porton must have observed how clearly the Port Way is seen close to the line. The appearance of Roman remains at the junction of the two roads near Finkley induced Sir R. Hoare to place there the itinerary post of Vindomis. Where Vindomis was, however, we know not. Camden says Silchester was Vindomis, and Stukeley says the same. Horsley places it at Farnham. Reynolds in his commentary on the Itinerary of Antoninus says it was at the Vyne, near Reading, and Mr. Long argues that it was at Basingstoke.

Perhaps the line of the Roman roads with which we are connected

at Andover, may be understood better by the aid of the map. The road from Silchester goes by Tadley to Baughurst, and leaving Woolverton a quarter of a mile to the north, ascends the chalk hills by Hannington Church, passes Freemantle Park, and runs to the south of Litchfield, then passes Egbury, probably a mansio, goes by St. Mary Bourne to Finkley, runs between Andover and Charlton, then through the 100 acres corner, through Monxton, Thruxton, and Amport, between Grateley and Quarley, to Old Sarum. The Roman road from Cirencester to Winchester crosses the Port Way at Eastanton, near Andover, after passing Tanglely (near which is a mansio), and from thence it runs over the downs, crossing Harewood Forest, where the road is just as the Romans left it; it then crosses the Test at a place called Cold Harbour, and goes thence to Winchester. This road is in some places two or three feet above the surface.

In 1867 the Rev. E. Kell and Mr. Charles Lockhart examined a field at Andover Down Farm, called Castle Field, and on which had been frequently found fragments of Roman pottery. By means of a long iron rod they found the walls of a Roman villa, which, on further investigation proved to be of oblong form, 65ft. in length, and 41ft. in breadth, with a portico on its western side. The roof had been supported by six or eight massive pillars, the vestiges of six of which remained. Many roofing tiles were found in good preservation. Two fire-places were discovered. There was no hypocaust, nor bath, nor any portion of a tessellated pavement. Various coins were found. Stukeley and others have stated that Andover was a Roman station, and some foundation for this opinion is found in the discovery, in our town, of coins of Tetricus, senior and junior, and of Victorinus.

We have no Anglo-Saxon remains in or about Andover, though we have traces of their settlements in words such as Enham, Thruxton, and Redenham. Nevertheless, Andover was not an unimportant place in Anglo-Saxon times. We read in the Chronicle that in the year 994 Anlaf and Sweyn came to London on the Nativity of S. Mary, with ninety-four ships, and they then continued fighting stoutly against the Burgh, and would have set fire to it. “The Holy Mother of God,” continues the Chronicle, “delivered the

townsmen from their foes. They went from thence plundering and burning in the land of Kent, Sussex, and Hants. The English King then promised them gifts if they would cease from plundering. Anlaf and Sweyn, with their forces, took up their winter quarters at Southampton. The English King sent Bishop Alfeah and Æthelward the Alderman, to them, and from Southampton they brought Anlaf to Andover. Here King Æthelred received Anlaf at the Bishop's hands, and royally gifted him. Then Anlaf made a covenant with the King, which he fulfilled, that he would never come hostilely to the English nation." "Thæt he næfre eft to Angeleynne mid unfrithe cuman nolde." Florence of Worcester tells the same story, and so does Henry of Huntingdon. Kemble tells us that at a treaty at Andover in the year 994 Æthelred and his witan made certain laws respecting ports for merchants' ships in bad weather. Gemots were certainly held at Grately, near Andover, about that time, and in the time of Edgar—978—a gemot was held in the town of Andover. A very remarkable and rare coin of the Saxon King Beorchtric was found in 1854, within two miles of Andover, and is now in the possession of Mrs. Shaw, the widow of our late estimable and talented townsman, Mr. Shaw. Beorchtric was one of the Kings of East Anglia in the ninth century.

We are connected with Saxon history in another very interesting way. About three or four miles from Andover was the once famous nunnery of Wherwell, founded by Queen Elfrida, the Lady Macbeth of England, in expiation of the murder of her son-in-law, King Edward the Martyr, and of her husband Ethelwold, by Edgar. Not far from this spot—and near the Roman road—in the midst of overhanging trees, is a place called the "Dead Man's Plack. It is a weird spot. While hunting here in the forest, Edgar slew Ethelwold, and on the spot where the body lay, Col. Iremonger has erected a plain but bold obelisk, on which is this inscription ;—

"About the year of Our Lord 963, upon this spot, beyond the time of memory, called Dead Man's Plack, tradition reports that Edgar, surnamed the peaceable, King of England, in the ardour of youth, love, and indignation, slew with his own hand, Earl Ethelwold, owner of the forest of Harewood, in resentment of the Earl having basely betrayed his royal confidence, and perfidiously married his intended bride, the beauteous Elfrida, daughter of Ordgar, Earl of Devonshire,

afterwards wife of King Edgar, and by him mother of King Ethelred II., which Queen Elfrida after Edgar's death murdered his eldest son, King Edward the Martyr, and founded the nunnery of Wherwell.”

In Freeman's “Old England” he is at a loss about Harewood. He knows the story of the murder, but he cannot identify the place where it took place. Harewood, in Yorkshire, the only place of that name he knows of, “cannot possibly,” says he, “be the scene of the murder.” Doubtless the difficulty has now been solved by him.

The words in the Domesday Book about Andover are:—“The King holds Andover in demesne, and King Edward held it. The number of hides is not mentioned. Here are two ploughlands in demesne, and sixty-two villeins, thirty-six borderers, three freemen and six servants with twenty-four ploughlands; also six mills, worth 72*s.* 6*d.*, eighteen acres of meadow, and woods for the pannage of one hundred hogs.” Or, in modern language:—“Andover belongs to the King. It was formerly part of the property of King Edward. We do not know exactly how much land the manor contains. There are two ploughlands, sixty-two copy-holders (or men working on the land for the lord of the manor), thirty-six cottagers (who work on the estate), three freemen and six slaves cultivating twenty-four ploughlands. There are six mills, worth altogether 72*s.* 6*d.*; eighteen acres of meadow land, and woods sufficient to supply mast and other food for one hundred hogs.” There is no mention of a Church, but it by no means follows that the Norman scribe mentions all the Churches which existed in the manors that he describes. It is almost certain that a Church existed in Andover at that time, as the events which then took place at Andover would almost necessitate such a building.

The Church and benefice of Andover were under the alien priory of St. Florent, in Normandy. It may be well to observe that the alien priories were cells in England which belonged to foreign monasteries. When manors or tithes were given to foreign convents, the monks, either to increase their own rule, or probably in order to have faithful stewards of their reveuues, built a small convent on the manor, or on the tithe land, for a number of monks, and placed a prior over them. Within these cells there was the same distinction



as in those priories which were under the great abbeys. Some of these became societies within themselves, and received the revenues belonging to their several houses for their own use and support, paying only the ancient apport or acknowledgment to the foreign house. Others depended entirely on the foreign houses, who appointed and removed their priors at pleasure. The "Monasticon" gives a list of one hundred of these priories. These alien priories were first seized by Edward I. in 1285, on the breaking out of the war between France and England. Edward III. confiscated them and afterwards restored them in 1361. They were eventually all dissolved by Henry V., and their estates vested in the Crown, except Fotheringhay. In general, the lands were appropriated to religious uses. Our Church, with its appurtenances, a hide and thirteen acres of land, several rents, and other possessions, such as the tithes of the demesne within the parish, viz., tithe of yearly increase of little pigs, of horses, of cheese, of special pannage, one pig on the feast of S. Martin, free range in the King's woods for ten hogs, wood for fences, for making the monks' sandals, fuel for the bake and brew-houses, and pasturage for the King's own beasts, were given to the French abbey of St. Florence, at Saumur in Anjou, by William the Conqueror, and it became a cell to that monastery. Some say the Church was granted to that Benedictine monastery by William Rufus. Dugdale says the Conqueror granted it, but Foss, in his "Lives of the Chancellors," says:—"The deed of gift begins, 'The King W having subjugated the land of Engl<sup>d</sup>.' &c.," and states that if the king, William, had made the grant, he would have used the first person. The first witness to the deed is Robert, Bishop of Lincoln. There was no bishop of that name in the Conqueror's time, while there was a Robert Blase, bishop of Lincoln in 1093. S. Florent was a Benedictine abbey in the province of Anjou, founded by the Emperor Charlemagne. In 1414 (2nd of Henry V.) the Priory of Andover was dissolved by deed (and this deed was confirmed by Edward IV.), and its possessions given to Winchester College, by whom it is still held. This priory is said to have been one of the first acquisitions of Winchester College after its foundation by William of Wykeham. There is some evidence that it was

purchased with money left for that purpose by Bishop Wykeham. When it was conveyed to the College there was a stipulation made that Nicholas Gwyn, the last prior, should receive a pension for his life of fifty-two marks. The annual value of the priory in 1 Henry VI. appears by the charter of that King, confirming the title of the college, to have been one hundred and ten marks. The college had to pay to Queen Joan, consort of Henry IV., twenty marks. A fragment of ivied wall in the churchyard was probably a portion of the old priory. The present Church stands almost on the site of the old one. A sketch of the old Church now hangs in the vestry. The principal doorway of the old Church stands at the west entrance to the churchyard. It is a good specimen of bold Norman work. Judging from the sketch of the old Church it would seem that the nave was of transition work, the tower Norman, and the chancel debased Perpendicular. The present Church—Early English in character, and built of Caen Stone and flint—was erected entirely at the expense of the Rev. Dr. Goddard, the Head Master of Winchester College. The cost was said to have been from twenty-five to thirty thousand pounds. Several of the monuments which were in the old Church are missing. Some are in the vestry and in the vestibule of the Church, and two, which were memorials of two liberal benefactors of the town, were placed in the tower where no person could see them; indeed, so thoroughly were they concealed from the eye of the public that persons born in the town had never seen them. I have had one of them placed on the north and the other on the south of the chancel. The one near the vestry door is to the memory of Richard Kemish, whose will was proved in 1611. The other is to the memory of R. Venables, who died in 1621. The old brass plate on the wall near the Venables monument, bears an inscription to the memory of Nicholas Venables.

The inscription on the centre panel of the Kemish monument is:—

“Here lyeth the Lady Ann Lawarr the 1st wife of Thos. Olver Esq., 2nd of the Rt Hon Sir Wm West Kt. Lord Lawarr on whose right hand lyeth her mother Elizth the wife of Hen: Swift Esq & on her left hand lyeth Rich Kemish Gent, her late husband who gave to the town £400 to purchase land, perpetual payment of 5£ to Lectr. 5£ to ye Free School, 5£ for bread & 5£ to ye poor every Good Friday.”

This inscription is not in its proper place : it must have been once placed on a separate stone or mural monument erected to the memory of the lady herself.

On the same monument are the following inscriptions :—

“This Benefactor Richard Kemis Gent gave to this towne of Andever 400£ to purchase 20 acres of land for the perpetual payment of 5£ to the Free school, 5£ in a dole of bread weekly to ye poor, and 5£ to them every Good Friday.

“Also he gave to this Church in ornaments 50£, towards the paving of this towne, 100£, to the poor of Andever 40£, of Winchester 10£, of Wherwell 10£, of Houghton, Stockbridge, and Longstoke x£, of Up Clatford 5£, and the remainder of his estate to like uses. Obit Sexto die Octobris 1611.”

The Latin inscription to Nicholas Venables is, in English :—

“Here lies N. Venables, gentleman, the pious father of two sons and three daughters. He died aged 73 years Jan. 3, 1602. Rich<sup>d</sup> Venables his younger son placed this memorial to his memory.”

The brass to the left of the monument is to Richard Venables and Dorothy, his wife. The wife died in 1612, the husband in 1621.

There was at least one chantry in the Church. This was founded by Peter de Brugge and his wife in the year 1374. In searching among the archives of the Corporation I found there the original deed of the foundation. In the same bundle of papers were several licences granted to priests to minister at the altar. This chantry was dissolved by Hen. VIII., and its endowments were granted by Edward VI. to Daniel and Alexander Pert, of Tewkesbury, but eventually they were acquired by Winchester college in 1556.

It is almost a natural sequence from the Church to the grammar school. The ancient grammar school buildings were in the grounds, now a shrubbery, opposite the vicarage.

An indenture made between the bailiff, approved men, and burghesses of Andover, of the one part, and William Blake, of Eastanton, in the parish of Andover, gent., of the other part, recites that one John Hanson, gent., deceased, in 1569 gave £200 to be put forth at the rate of £16 per annum, for the maintenance of a free school

within the town. The schoolmaster was to be a graduate of Oxford or Cambridge.

The money was placed in the hands of Bishop Horne; then Bishop of Winchester, to be employed by him as Hanson requested. This money the bishop gave into the hands of a William Blake, and a William Blake, his son, and they, in connection with a Mr. John Blake, gave a bond to the bishop for payment of the £200 and the £16 yearly, at a certain time. This bond could not be found at the death of the bishop. The deed recites that William Blake, being moved in conscience for that the said sum of £200 was given to so good a use and purpose, was contented to enter into another obligation unto Walter Waite, gent., then Bailiff of Andover, in the sum of £400, to make good the loss. Richard Blake gave the site, and the Corporation built the school-house. In the will of Richard Kemis, dated 1611, September 25th, we find that he left, amongst other charities, £5 to the free school. The school is poorly endowed, but very successful, and such funds as the trustees are possessed of—whether for the use of the school or town—they administer fairly and honourably.

I cannot mention all the charities of Andover; but that by John Pollen should be noticed. The said John Pollen, who was born in 1686, built an almshouse on a piece of the rectory land, and in December, 1702, endowed it with Seymour's or Sotwell's farm. By deed of September 29th, 1716, he gave to Winchester College the middle parsonage garden for five thousand years at a peppercorn rent, in exchange for the site of the almshouse and school-house. The Pollen school endowment was charged on Marsh Court Farm, then in King's Somborne parish.

Besides the bread gifts of Venables and others, there were certain charities administered by the Chamberlain of Charities, as the Spital Lands for the Spital Houses, and the Common Acre, said erroneously to have been left by Catherine Hanson, in 1570, as a town-playing place. This Common Acre was leased to a William Gold for twenty-one years, in 1560, at a four-shilling rent, he conditioning to keep up a pair of butts and give no hindrance to the people playing on the ground. There are now four almshouses on the ground. The

Common Acre is now utterly useless; the dusting of carpets is the only use to which valuable building land is now put—land which might be exchanged for a small park, or, at all events, for a cricket ground for the people. I may state here that in one of the council books we read that the Common Acre was let to Robert Maynsak and Thomas Hode for eleven years, at the annual rent of 20*d.*

By some means or other the Corporation have become possessed of an ancient churchwardens' book for the year 1471; indeed one cannot but express surprise how many of the books and deeds which should be in the Church chest are amongst the archives of the Corporation. And we ought not to grieve over this, for while the early registers are literally dropping to pieces, the archives of the Corporation have been most carefully preserved and catalogued—with one exception, however—for a great number of Latin deeds were tied up in a bundle, and labelled "Miscellaneous Papers." But to return to the churchwardens' book. We learn from it that the Church had a steeple and bells. At Easter were the usual services in connexion with that feast—the Easter sepulchre, the watchers and the torches. The town could then supply ironmongers, for Richard Jumper and John Roche found the iron and nails necessary for the repair of the choir and the bell furniture. Richard Peynton and Robert Carpenter were carpenters. William Clifford was a bookbinder and a repairer of surplices. John Helier was a bell-hanger. William Gunter was a writer. William Plomer and William Sadler repaired the bellows (wind-bag it is in the book) of the organ. Richard Curtis and Philip Morant's wife were brewers. Agnes was the laundress for the Church; and here, speaking of laundresses, I may remark that the people of Andover seem to have made great provision for clothes washing. There are numerous entries in the Corporation books of this kind, viz., Memorandum.—"It was granted that Wm. Broughton should have a washing-house upon the king's stream for a certain term, at a yearly rent of 24*s.* 8*d.* We learn, too, from the churchwardens' book that the price of oil for the Church was 6½*d.* per gallon. The board of a man and his horse was 4*d.* a day. There was a wedding door to the Church, and Poche's man was paid 1*d.* for repairing it. The pay of a carpenter was 5*d.* a day. The Duke and Duchess of Clarence, the

brother to the King and the daughter of the Earl of Warwick visited Andover at this time, and the ringers were paid *vid.* for ringing the bells on the occasion.

Under a commission given by Edward VI. the Church goods were sold, and amongst the Public Records is a certificate of Sir Henry Seymour and others as to the restoration of these goods. This certificate is of the date 2 and 3 of Philip & Mary. The Church goods of the villages around are given. Under Andover we read, "certain ornaments sold to Richard Sedgwick and to William Spenser and to Wm. Sentlove," and this note:—"A suit of vestments of white damask sold to John Bedham for 23*s.* 3*d.*—not paid." Amongst the chantry certificates are the following notes:—"Our Lady's Chantry"; "A Stipendiary"; "An Obit."

In the reign of Henry VII. Thomas Bekington left to S. Mary's College, at Winchester, amongst other gifts, one messuage with three tofts at Andover.

Andover, had, like many other towns, her *domus Dei*—God's house—which was here dedicated to S. John the Baptist. In 1247 a royal charter was granted for the Hospital of S. John at Andover, and in 1251 license was given to the master, brethren, and sisters of the hospital to take in a certain open place lying opposite their house, and to build a chapel upon it. Edward III., in 1340, gave the wardenship of the hospital to his clerk, John de Derby. The seal of the hospital represented a John the Baptist holding an *Agnus Dei* in his hand. I cannot find any document, either amongst the town archives or in the parish chest, connected with this hospital, but it is mentioned in a churchwarden's book of the date 1471. The entry is peculiar:—"Item receptus de hominibus de la spetyll 14*d.* pro uno rame." And also, in the council book named *Liber A* we read of a piece of waste ground opposite the Hospital of S. John, near Andover. In the *Liber A* council book is the following entry:—"Mem. it is condescended and agreed by the whole twenty-four forward men that the tenement called S. John's House with all the lands thereunto belonging shall be taken as part of the chamber lands of Andover, and the chamberlains of the said town shall receive the rents of the same and give acct thereof." On the 20th

September, 16 Elizabeth, it was agreed that at all times thereafter the sole rent of S. John's House should be paid to the chamber, and that the chamberlains of the same should pay yearly, as well, £10 to the Right Hon. the Earl of Leicester for his life, and 20s. to the Right Worshipful Mr. Richard Inkenne for his fee. The whole income of the lands of S. John's House has, from 1552, been received by the Corporation. The name of Spital is probably the only vestige of this once important hospital. Tradition says it stood at the bottom of New Street, on the east side of the road going north. The spot was, some few years ago, used as a place for piling fagots. Tytheridge, in his report on the archives, says:—"A person named Richard Steele, born in 1706, used frequently to say, when in his ninetieth year, that he had often rung the bell in the old Market House, which was built (of timber) previous to the one in 1725, and that the bell therein was the identical one that came from the Spital chapel."

About the trade of Andover we must make some remarks. We have records of the times of Henry II. and John, shewing that the men of Andover were busy as merchants and tradesmen. Merchant guilds were in existence here in the time of Henry II., for in the 22nd of his reign Hugh de Gundeville rendered an account of the Farm of Hants in the Treasury, £168 10s. 3d. silver. The men of Andover render an account of ten marks for having the same liberty as the men of Wilton and of Sarum have in their guilds; and in the 6th year of John (1200) that king granted a charter, in which he says "Know ye we have granted to the men of Andover that they may have a gild of merchants." This privilege of a guild of merchants was again confirmed in the 12th year of Henry III., and in the 29th of Edward III. These charters prove that there was trade in the town, but what it was and what its extent we have no evidence to shew. Trade fluctuated at Andover, as elsewhere, for we find that in the 2nd of Richard II. the men of the town owed over £80 white money of fee farm of their town. The trade of the tanner was followed here to some extent, for in the maneloquiums of the Corporation we find records stating that the bailiff and forward men gave the membership of trade guilds to those, who, being

properly recommended, applied for them, and also let out to the townsmen the privilege of having shops or stalls for the sale of goods; and amongst these notices tanners and Tanners' Row are often mentioned.

It would seem that the guild of merchants of Andover was divided into three guilds of merchants, viz., the leather-sellers, the haberdashers, and the drapers. These guilds had ordinances, or laws, by which they were ruled. The laws for the haberdashers commence with this preamble:—“Ordinances of the Guild of Merchants in Andover in the County of South<sup>n</sup>. which Guild is divided into 3 several Fellowships whereof these are only of the Fellowship of Haberdashers.” It then goes on to say that the men of Andover, otherwise called the approved men of Andover, were incorporate by the letters patent of Henry III., and by the same letters patent, among other things have granted unto them a guild of merchants, &c., and have divided their whole company into three several fellowships. The deed recites what persons may be members of the guild of haberdashers. They are, haberdashers, milliners, mercers, grocers, inn-holders, vintners, bakers, brewers, smiths, cappers, hat-makers, barbers, painters, and glaziers. There is a similar deed for the Leather-sellers' Co.; members eligible for which society are, tanners, saddlers, glovers, pewterers, braziers, shoemakers, carriers, collar-makers, butchers, chandlers, dyers, and upholsterers. Then follow orders for the times of meeting, the apprenticing of youths to the various trades, laws about foreign tradesmen who came here to pursue their craft, and the election of the warden and officers.

The tradesmen of Andover issued tokens. Boyne gives a list of nineteen Andover tokens. Seven were issued by grocers, and bear the grocers' arms. The names were, William Waller, Abraham Waller, William Sweetapple, John Seagrove, Robert Millet, Benjamin Bradborne, and Robert Bird. Two bear the mercers' arms, those of William Gold and Richard Blake. Anthony Tatnell's token bears a fish, and Thomas Paine was probably a chandler, as the token has upon it a man making candles. Such was the trade of Thomas Olives, who issued a token in 1656. William Cornelius, the glover, issued a token having on its reverse a glove. John



Staneford's bears a woolpack. Three were issued for the payment of the poor; the one dated 1658, and having the legend "Remember the poor," with the figure of a cripple, is very rare. Andover issued tokens in its corporate capacity.

There are deeds in the town chest in connection with lime-burning, and this seems to have been a trade of some extent. John Selyd, Roger de Clatford the Steward of Andover, John Asselyn, and others, grant the use of the chalk-pit on the way leading from Andover to Barton Stacey to William le Halyere, of Ambresbury, and Olive, his wife, for digging the chalk and burning it. Andover was formerly famous for the manufacture of druggets, serges, and shalloons, but these trades have left the town and passed away completely. The district in the town called the Racks is the only relic of the trade and of the place where it was carried on.

Ample materials for the history of the rights and privileges of the town exist in the archives of the Corporation. We have, too, an able analysis of all the documents relating to these matters in a case drawn up for Serjeant Merewether. The point for the learned Serjeant's opinion was, whether the right of voting was with the Corporation or with the inhabitants. The drawer of the case recites or mentions every deed, document, and reference relating to the town that he can find. We give some of the points mentioned in this singular case. The men of Andover paid a fine to Henry II. King John granted two charters to the townsmen. King Henry III. confirmed the previous grants. Members of Parliament for Andover were first summoned in the 23rd year of Edward I. They were likewise elected to the parliament summoned by Edward II. in the 1st year of his reign. The town continued to send Members, but not regularly, until the 27th of Queen Elizabeth. Edward III. granted a charter, or rather an *inspeximus*, to the inhabitants, confirming one by Henry III., by which was given to the men of Andover the manor with the outer hundred. Richard II. confirmed Henry the Third's grant. Henry IV., by *inspeximus*, confirmed Richard the Second's charter. In the time of Henry VI. Richard Wiredrawer and Laurence Alexander, late Bailiffs of the town of Andover, stood charged in the great roll with several

summonses for escapes. Henry VIII. granted to the town a charter dated November 20th, 2nd year of his reign (1510), confirming one by Edward IV. In the 27th year of the reign of Elizabeth, the town was summoned to return burgesses to parliament and when the borough was about to act in obedience to the Queen's command, the Earl of Leicester, then high steward, addressed the following letter to the bailiffs:—

"After my hearty commendations—whereas it hath pleased her Majesty to appoint a parliament to be presently called; being steward of your town I make bold heartily to pray you that you will give me the nomination of one of your Burgesses for the same and if minding to avoid the charges of allowance for the other Burgesses you mean to name any that is not of your town, if you will bestow the nomination of the other burgess also upon me, I will thank you for it, and will both appoint a sufficient man and see you discharged of all charges in that behalf; and so praying your speedy answer herein I thus bid you heartily farewell. From the courte Oct. 12 1584

"Your loving friend,

"R. LEICESTER."

"P.S.—If you will send me your election with a blank I will put in the names."

"To my loving friends the Bailiffs Aldermen and the rest of the town of Andover."

My late friend, Mr. S. Shaw, informed me that this letter was given to Lord John Russell, shortly after the passing of the Reform Bill, by Mr. Mann, with the permission of the Town Council.

The town of Andover was burnt in the time of Henry VI. (about the year 1440). In the Patent Rolls we have a deed of license for obtaining one hundred marks on the land, by reason of the losses sustained at the burning of Andover and New Alresford. The losses caused by the fire made it almost impossible for the inhabitants to pay their public rates and dues. The inhabitants of the town and of the hundred without, had been accustomed to pay annually a fee farm rent to Edmund, formerly Earl of Kent, and his heirs, of £104 sterling at the feasts of Easter and St. Michael the Archangel, of which sum £30 12s. 11 $\frac{3}{4}$ d. had been apportioned to Lord Tankerville as his share. This sum, with arrears, his lordship generously remitted by deed, and for twenty years one hundred shillings were to be deducted from the gross sum due to him. The deed is now in the possession of the Corporation.

There was another fire in the town about the year 1647. The Bursar of Winchester College, T. F. Kirby, Esq., has kindly given me the following translated extracts from the bursar's book of that year:—

“Paid £1 to Robert Mountain, of Andever, who lost property at the fire valued at £500.”

“Paid to other poor persons, viz., eighty-two families who lost their goods. £5.”

It may be as well to note here that in Dugdale we read that King Edred gave fifty hides of land at Andover to Hyde Abbey, but in the “*Historia Major*” we read that the gift was Andover with five hides; but the historian goes on to say “*Quæ omnia Wilhelmus Conquestor pro voluntate suâ abstulit et militibus suis dedit.*”

We may now relate matters in connection with the general history of Andover. In 1155 Matthew Croc (after whom Crux Easton was named) was Warden of the Forests of Andover, Wittingley, and Dingley. The Forest of Andover was called the Brills of Andover. Tithes of these forests were paid to the Canons of Salisbury. In 1165 the King (Henry II.) gave to Salisbury Minster, by charter, amongst others, all the tithes of Andover. In 1213, June 7th, the King (John) sent Robert de Kerely to the Sheriff of Hants, at Andover, with two servants and their two horses, two boar hounds, three *veltrariis*, twenty-eight hounds *de mota*, and sixteen greyhounds. He sent, with Robert, William Croc and Peter de Cemel, and for these men, their horses, and their dogs, the sheriff was to supply whatever they needed. In 1217 King John re-granted the manor of Andover to William Longsword, Earl of Salisbury, who held the manor till his death. By a writ of May 20th, 1226, the Sheriff of Hants is commanded to give Matthew de Columbariis the Brills, the hunting woods of Andover which the sheriff had taken into the King's hands on the Earl's death.

John visited the town twice. In the Patent Rolls we find that Edward I. was here on February 20th and 21st, 1291, and from the Close Rolls we learn that Edward II. was in Andover on February 1st, 1317. Where did they find quarters in Andover? Probably

at the inn now called the "Angel Inn." That this is an ancient hostel we have clear proof. It is now held of Winchester College under a lease, and Winchester has held lands here since the suppression of the alien priories. In that part of the house inhabited by Mr. Reynolds we have some stone shields of arms of very early date. In one of Mr. Reynold's rooms, too, was found a wooden panel containing the arms of Wickham. The cellars shew masonry of old and massive character. Tradition points out to you the room in this house where King John slept.

In 1329 Edmund of Woodstock, Earl of Kent, and his wife, were seized of the towns of Andover and Basingstoke. In or about the year 1299 Queen Margaret, second wife to Edward I., had amongst her endowments, the manor and town of Andover.

When King Henry V. hastened down to meet the French fleet at Southampton, amongst others we find Andover required to send men-at-arms to assist the King.

We have an allusion to Andover in the narrative of the visit of the Spanish nobleman—the Duke of Najera—to England in 1543-4. The duke left London on Tuesday for Hounslow, thence to Hartford Bridge on Wednesday, and on Thursday he was at Basingstoke, "a place," he says, "of eight hundred houses." On Friday, at Andover, "a place of five hundred houses." Taking five persons as an average per house, Andover would, in 1544, have had two thousand five hundred inhabitants.

James I. visited Andover, as we learn from a letter written by him to Matthews, Archbishop of York, which ends, "Given at Andover," &c.

We had some connexion with the Civil War in the time of Charles I. Clarendon tells us that just before the second Battle of Newbury "Waller lay at Andover with three thousand horse and dragoons. Prince Maurice, with his troops, began his march on Andover, and was within four miles from the town before Waller had any notice of their motions; when he drew out his whole body towards them, as if he meant to fight; but upon view of their strength, and the good order they were in, he changed his mind, and drew back into the town; leaving a strong party of horse and

dragoons to make good his retreat. But the King's van charged, and routed them with good execution, and pursued them through the town, and slew many of them in the rear, until the darkness of the night secured them, and hindered the others from following farther. But they were all scattered, and came not quickly together again; and the King quartered that night at Andover." I do not know of any signs of earthworks thrown up by either party round or near the town. This was a mere sharp skirmish when the troops were on the move.

The unfortunate James II. visited Andover. We read in Macaulay an account of the retreat of the royal army from Salisbury:—"James went that day as far as Andover. He was attended by his son-in-law, Prince George, and by the Duke of Ormond. Prince George and Ormond were invited to sup with the King. The meal must have been a sad one. The King was overwhelmed by his misfortunes. His son-in-law was the dullest of companions. 'I have tried Prince George sober,' said Charles II., 'and I have tried him drunk, and, drunk or sober, there is nothing in him.' At length the repast terminated. The King retired to rest. Horses were in waiting for the Prince and Ormond, who, as soon as they had left the table, mounted and rode away from Andover." James lodged at the Priory House, then the property of the Pollens.

Wilkes tells us of other worthies who passed through or stayed for a short time in our town. Through Andover passed Sir Walter Raleigh, when he was taken to London. In the account of the journey we read "Raleigh went on his journey to Andover, and so to Hertford Bridge, and thence to Staines."

Charles II. stayed at the White Hart, Andover, on October 16th, 1644.

We have no evidence as to the date when the first place of worship for the Nonconformists was built in Andover. Two cottages, situated in Soper's Lane, were formerly pointed out as having once formed part of an old Presbyterian place of worship. The Rev. S. Sprint, of Trinity College, Cambridge, is thought to have been the first pastor of the body. He was a friend of Dr. Barrow, and was at one time master of the Newbury Grammar School.

He was ejected in 1662 from South Tedworth Rectory. Bishop Morley protected him from prosecution, and would have presented him to a living had he been willing to use the Book of Common Prayer. Mr. Sprint was thirty years at the Soper's Lane meeting-house, and died at Clatford. The Rev. Jacob Ball, who succeeded Sprint, became eventually an Arian. He died in 1747. In the same room in which the Presbyterians worshipped, a Congregational Church was accustomed to hold its services. The latter had for their first minister the Rev. Isaac Chauncy, a physician, who had been ejected from the living of Woodborough, in Wilts. The Rev. Samuel Tomlyns, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, succeeded. He had been ejected from Crawley. He writes, "Mr. Sprint and I for several years did peaceably go on at Andover, both preaching in one pulpit to the same congregation." Nevertheless the two Churches did not then coalesce, but the congregation eventually became entirely Congregational. Calamy, the eminent Nonconformist, visited Andover. The Presbyterians have no meeting-place here. The Chapel in East Street was called the Upper Meeting-house, and had for its first minister the Rev. Samuel Chandler. He settled here in 1700, when the first Chapel in East Street was built. The Rev. Samuel Say, whose father had been ejected from S. Michael's, Southampton, succeeded Chandler. He was fellow-student with Dr. Watts. In the ministry of the Rev. David Millar the pews of the meeting-house were bought and sold. The price of one is given at 12*s.* 6*d.*; of another, £1 2*s.* 6*d.*; and of a single sitting, 5*s.* In 1761 a house was purchased for the minister, the cost being £182. About the year 1838 the Independents, Baptists, and some few Episcopalians, erected a school to be conducted on the British system, and the house adjoining the Congregational Chapel was purchased for the minister. There are Chapels for the Wesleyans, Baptists, and Primitive Methodists, in the town, but none for Roman Catholics, Quakers, and Unitarians.

The old and now unused names of streets that I have met with in the records are, Back Lane, Rowlie's Lane, Frog Lane, Duck Street, Brick Kiln Street, King's Head Street, Whytchurch Street, Littlebury Street. New Street is really a most ancient street,

and the name is old; I have found it in documents of the sixteenth century. The Town Hall, in which we are now assembled, was erected in 1825 on the site of one built in 1725. High Street had formerly trees planted on both sides of the pathways. The last relic of one of our oldest shops was taken down recently. There was a high cross in the centre of the Market Place. The Globe Inn, in this street, is an ancient hostel, though not the oldest. Cobbett, in his "Rural Rides," mentions his holding a meeting at the George Inn, in High Street. It was at the Globe that Sir Francis Delaval, the candidate for the representation of Andover, held his committee meetings. He was a singular character. I extract from the "Quarterly Review" the following notice of Sir Francis:—"Sir Francis Blake Delaval, of the fine old Norman Delavals, the rake and humourist of about a century ago, was one time canvassing Andover. There was a voter there, as far as every appearance went, insensible to all temptation. Money, wine, place, flattery, had no attractions for the stoic. Sir Francis puzzled himself in endeavouring to discover this man's weak point. At last he found it out. The man had never seen a fire-eater, and doubted if there existed a class endowed with that remarkable power. Off went Delaval to London, and returned with Angelo in a post-chaise. Angelo exerted all his genius. Fire poured from his mouth and nostrils—fire which melted that iron nature, and sent it off cheerfully to poll for Delaval! This was the Delaval whose attorney sent him the following bill after one of his contests:—"To being thrown out of the window of the George Inn, Andover; to my leg being thereby broken; to surgeon's bill and loss of time and business; all in service of Sir Francis Delaval, £500."

In Chantry Street was an ecclesiastical building of some kind, but I can find no allusion to it in the archives. Looking down Chantry Street from the top to High Street, the view is peculiarly picturesque. In Church Hill, now called Marlborough Street, are the Pollers' Almshouses, and the Pollen Infant School. They were founded by John Pollen, Esq., A.D. 1686. At the south entrance to this street are the industrial and infant schools, founded by, and named after, Miss Gale. In East Street is the oldest Non-conformist Chapel in Andover, and at the south end of the street,

on the site of the Primitive Methodist minister's house, were the Quakers' Chapel and burying-ground. In Bridge Street is our Public Library and Institute, with its modest museum. In Winchester Street is the Wesleyan Chapel, and at the south end of it an unused burial-ground for Quakers. London Street contains a somewhat antique hostel, named the Red Lion. At the top of London Street, where the road runs into Woolvers Dean, were found, a few years ago, five Roman coins, third brass. In Soper's Lane was the first meeting-room of the Nonconformists. Calamy gives an interesting account of his visit there. In Barlow's Lane, now South Street, were found, on the evidently scarp'd hill, several skeletons. On the roof of a shed behind the Wellington Inn, in Winchester Street, was found a part of a fine tessellated pavement. This came into the possession of Mr. Shaw. New Street contains many very old thatched cottages and a mission-room. At the north end of it was S. John's House.

And now my story is told, but briefly and hastily. There is matter enough for two or three other papers; but to me there is no time to write it down. One duty, however, I have to perform, and it is a pleasant though a sad one. Not long ago was taken from us one who would have enjoyed these meetings, and added very much to their interest. I never knew a more accurate and a more reasonably enthusiastic archæologist—a more liberally disposed man with his vast store of mediæval lore—than Mr. S. Shaw. His kind son, and equally kind widow, have placed at my disposal his MS. collections, and they have been of service to me. Andover lost a real antiquarian when good Mr. Shaw was taken away. He was a thoroughly good man, of playful wit and of ready knowledge. He was a good numismatist—had an excellent knowledge of old literature—and had collected an immense number of curious books. I enjoyed his society greatly. He was a friend whom I deeply respected. How I miss him now! May he rest in peace.



## The Museum at Andover.

[Communicated by the Rev. R. H. CLUTTERBUCK, Rector of Enham.]

THE "Loan Museum" arranged in the Court Room of the Town Hall contained much that was interesting, gathered almost exclusively from the immediate neighbourhood.

The Mayor of Andover kindly allowed the chain of office and the maces to be exhibited. The chain is modern, but the two maces—though they have apparently undergone various alterations—are of the time of Charles II. They are of silver, of a well-known type; the heads bowl-shaped and surrounded with a coronal. But the chief interest of the Museum centred in some specimens of the magnificent series of charters and documents possessed by the Corporation. Among those shown were two charters of King John, and one of Queen Elizabeth, with a fine impression of the great seal. In the same case was the "Maneloquium Book," which, although in the earlier folios it is a transcript made 35 Henry VIII., has accounts of the "morow speche" (usually held on the Sunday mornings), from 3 Edward III.

Drawings and prints of the pavements found in the neighbourhood, the chief of which were at Abbots Ann and Thrupton, were exhibited by Mrs. Dixon, of Linkenholt, and the same lady also showed two mediæval seals, one round, lin. in diameter having a well-shaped fleur-de-lys, surrounded by the legend + s. GAUFRIDI DE LAMORE; the other, round,  $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter, bears the device of a squirrel on a branch, beneath which reposes an animal of truculent aspect but doubtful description. The legend is \* WAKE ME NO MAN. This seal was found in the wall of a tower which once stood in the churchyard attached to Salisbury Cathedral. Mrs. Dixon also exhibited a repeater watch in a most exquisite case of filigree work, *temp.* James I., and medals of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth.

A very interesting cabinet of medals was exhibited by F. R. Loscombe, Esq., of Clatford, comprising medallion of Charles II., 1662; Russian medallion of Catherine II., 1782; silver medallion of Admiral Van Tromp, Clement XII., Charles II., on the occasion of his embarking at Scheveling, 1660; Pius VII., the scarce

medallion with Florian amphitheatre of Rome on the reverse; coronation medal of Edward VI.; medal of Charles I., with ship in full sail on reverse; marriage medal of Napoleon with Marie Louise of Austria; medal struck to commemorate the union of England and Scotland; jubilee medal of confession of Augsburg; medal of Archbishop Sancroft, non-juring bishops, Luther, 1661; medal struck on the death of Charles I., with representation of the mob as a beast with many heads standing over the head of the King; Anglo-Saxon gold coin; medal of Charles I. on his return from coronation in Scotland, 1633.

Andover possesses a local Museum, which, among other things, has some interesting collections of remains discovered in excavations in the neighbourhood. This Museum was thrown open for the Society's inspection during their visit, and the following were lent to the temporary Museum:—a boat cloak worn by Lord Nelson; a curious piece of needlework, *temp.* Charles II.; two pistol tinder-boxes, one of the common type, with the machinery of the lock exposed, the other of holster size with an arrangement for the candle in the barrel.

Messrs. T. & J. D. Butt exhibited coins and tokens of local interest, including Roman coins of Carausius, shilling of Charles I., ditto of Charles II., farthing of Charles II., and half-penny of George I.; Andover tokens with the legend "For ye poore's benefit," Hungerford token, Whitechurch token, and Sarum and Southampton tokens, all found in the construction of the Andover waterworks.

The bowl of the ancient font of Knight's Enham Church, apparently of Saxon work, was lent for exhibition by the Rector, who also showed an iron chest of sixteenth century Italian work, and a small collection of old silver-plate.

Amongst other things shewn were a copy of "Cocker's Arithmetic, 1677," by Mr. Alderman Hammans—a book still remembered in the saying "according to Cocker"; and a copy of the first edition of "The Christian Year," some early numbers of "The Stamford Mercury," and No. 1 of "The Tatler," by Rev. H. Cheales.

The walls were decorated with rubbings of brasses lent by E. Clarke, Esq., and the platform with some fine skins lent by Col. Briggs.

## “Ludgershall Castle and its History.”

By the Rev. W. H. AWDRY,

*Rector of Ludgershall.*

(Read before the Society at the Meeting at Andover, August 15th, 1883.)

**W**HEN, in reply to your Secretary's request, a few weeks ago, I consented to read a paper at the forthcoming Meeting of Wiltshire archæologists, I really did not expect to be called upon to address this honourable company at the Town Hall of Andover. I supposed that at some stage of the proceedings a visit would be paid to Ludgershall, and that then and there some one, and that some one a resident of the place, would be expected to furnish an account of its probable history. “Ludgershall Castle and its History” seems a somewhat pretentious title to a paper emanating from one so utterly *un-given* to archæological research as myself. However, here I am, and here you are, and it only remains for me to acquit myself as best I may, craving your forbearance if I am dull and inconsequent; and, above all, asking you to believe that I only profess to be “a gatherer and collector of other men's stuff.”

Of local information respecting the old ruins there is almost *nil*. Indeed, the very existence of such a place as Ludgershall Castle was till very recently unknown to some of my neighbours. Perhaps I ought to mention that, although standing on high ground, it is almost hidden from view by the trees which have grown up round it in recent years. I remember, when I first came to Ludgershall, some years ago, I naturally wanted to find out what I could about the place, and I betook me to an aged crone, who, I was told, had lived all her life in the same cottage, and certainly not 200 yards from the ruins of the castle. I asked her a question or two with little success, and at last discovered that in all her life—and she was fourscore years old—she had never been at the pains to examine the old pile herself, but was contented with the glimpse she got of it

among the trees from the village street. The gossips, however, were not slow to inform me that the said old lady and her next-door neighbour on one occasion had had enterprise enough to trudge as far as Portsmouth, after the colours of a marching regiment that had been billeted in the village. So much better is “a living dog than a dead lion.”

The ancient name of Ludgershall, or, as it is commonly called, Lurgeshall, was Lutegars’ Hall, the residence of some Saxon owner. It was held at the Conquest by Edward of Salisbury, but must afterwards have reverted to the Crown, as the vill, domain and castle were in the hands of the Kings of England from Henry II. Governors were often appointed to this and Marlborough Castle together. Various suppositions have been made as to the derivation of the name. In Domesday Book it is written “Little Garselle.” One idea is that it comes from the words Leod—gars—legh=people (who lived in a)—grass—flat. A long flat common sprinkled with gorse and scrub extended for nearly a mile both east and west of the village till within the last fifty years, and on which many people had grazing and other rights. It is certain that the successive cultivators of the soil have found it an easy farm to work, owing to its level character, and those who have had the good fortune to shoot over the manor on a broiling day in September—days, however, that have been few and far between in late years—have been wont to congratulate themselves on the absence of hills to be breasted in their day’s sport.

It is generally acknowledged that the castle was built soon after the Norman Conquest, but the date of its building and the name of the architect are alike unknown. A parishioner of mine took the trouble to procure for me from a relation in London a book which was said to contain “all about” Ludgershall Castle. I could only discover this short paragraph:—“Luggershall Castle, built 1199”: clearly a wrong date. That it was in existence before 1141 is certain, for in that year the Empress Maude took refuge in it as she fled before Stephen’s victorious army. Stowe thus describes her visit to the castle:—“The Empress fled to the castell of Lutegarshale heavy and almost dead for feare—from thence she was

brought to the castell of Vies, and from thence to Glos'ter bound in a horse litter like a dead carcase." Another account says that "she escaped on a swift horse." If this be so, she probably arrived at her destination with more speed than we nineteenth century people are able to make, thanks to the squabbles of rival railway companies. In Agnes Strickland's lives of the Queens of England I find this account of her escape:—"The Empress Matilda having decided to leave Winchester, her brother the Earl of Glos'ter cut a passage for her through the besiegers [*i.e.*, the army of Queen Matilda, wife of Stephen] at the sword's point. She and her uncle David, King of Scotland, by dint of hard riding escaped to Ludgershall, while the Earl arrested the pursuit by battling with them by the way, till almost all his followers being slain, he was compelled to surrender after a desperate defence. This skirmish took place September 14th, 1141. The Empress, whose safe retreat to Ludgershall had been thus dearly purchased by the loss of her great general's liberty, being hotly pursued by the Queen's troops to Devizes, only escaped their vigilance by personating a corpse, wrapped in grave clothes, and being placed in a coffin, which was bound with cords, and borne on the shoulders of some of her trusty partisans to Gloster, the stronghold of her valiant brother, where she arrived faint and weary with long fasting and mortal terror."

A seal belonging to her faithful adherent, Milo of Gloucester, was turned up by the plough at the end of the last century, six hundred years after it was lost or thrown away. It bears this inscription:—"SIGILLUM MILONIS DE GLOCESTRIA," and represents a knight in chain armour, on horseback, holding a lance and shield. An impression of this seal may be seen in "Archæologia," vol. xiv. The seal itself—which is of silver—is, or was, in the possession of the Selwyn family. As Milo Fitzwalter was with the Queen when she made her escape, it is probable that, following in her track, while passing through Ludgershall, he either lost the seal or threw it away to avoid identification in case of being taken prisoner. Robert, Earl of Gloucester, was captured. Milo, having adopted the disguise of a beggar, escaped, but with great difficulty.

On the accession of Richard I. to the throne "the castles of

Marlbro," *i.e.*, "Ludgershall with the Forest," were among what are called by our old friend Mrs. Markham "the many kind but ill-judged gifts" of that monarch to his brother John. In 1215 Geoffrey Fitz Piers, Chief Justice of England, and (after marriage with Beatrix, daughter of William le Saye) Earl of Essex, was governor. He appears to have been called after it, as one record speaks of him as "Ludgershall named Geoffrey." He was a rich man, endowed with much talent and learning, but feared by the king himself on account of his great influence. When King John heard of the death of this nobleman he exclaimed "Now I shall be King and Lord of England." From the year 1200 to 1216 King John seems constantly to have stayed at Ludgershall. He dates thence a mandate to the Provost of Winchester "to send for the king's use a good chariot with all its furniture and four horses to be at Northampton on the Tuesday after the close of Easter."—*Excerpta Hist.*, p. 400, "Close Rolls."

On July 11th, 1205, Hugh de Neville was ordered to send to Southampton a "good and strong carriage to convey thence such wines as Daniel should deliver, 2 casks of white wine and 4 alnet to Ludgarshall." Festivity seems to have been the order of the day, for in the same month two tuns of wine were ordered to Ludgarshall for the queen's use, the King also being there. No doubt they had "a good time."

3 John. The king had a stipendiary chaplain at Ludgershall.

14 John :—

"Spent in alms for dinner given to 100 poor persons by the King, because he had eaten meat twice on Friday next after the Feast of St. James, at Lutegarshall ix. iiii<sup>d</sup>., delivered to Brother Thomas the Almoner."—("Rotulus Misæ," p. 236.)

(There are in the book from which this extract is made several other instances of this very curious habit of King John.)

In 1215 the king made a stay here on his way either to or from Runnymede. The castle of Ludgarshall continued in the possession of the same family of Fitz Piers until the tenth year of Henry III., when Jollan de Nevill, a justice itinerant, was appointed governor. He is supposed to have been the compiler of the book of fees called

“Testa de Nevill.” He was also principal warder of the king’s forests.

A.D. 1227, 11 Hen. III., 20th July:—

“Mandate to Hugh de Neville to deliver to Gunhilda, the widow, the goods of John Blund of Ludgershall who was hanged for killing a man. She also to have his house; to be held at the King’s pleasure.”

King Henry III. was here November 26th, 1239, as we learn from Walpole’s “Anecdotes of Painting.” There is an order extant for certain additions to the king’s apartments, and for the history of Dives and Lazarus to be painted.

In the 44th year of this reign Robert de Waterman had the government of this castle, but was soon afterwards removed to make way for Roger, Lord Clifford, who appears to have fallen from his allegiance and joined Simon de Montfort and the rebellious barons.

This visit of Henry III. is, as far as I know, the last time but one that royalty visited the place. I say the last time but one, for is not the visit of Prince Leopold, Duke of Albany, fresh in our memories? did we not decorate our railway station, and did we not all cheer him lustily as he passed through on his road to Marlborough? Happy Marlborough people, and happier Marlborough boys, who could bask in the light of that gracious countenance, while but a glimpse of a white hat—and that very much tilted forward—was vouchsafed to the disappointed but most loyal inhabitants of our ancient borough.

27 Edward I. The manor of Ludgershall, worth  $\frac{£}{xxx}$  a year, formed part of the jointure to be settled on the king’s marriage with Margaret, sister of the King of France.

We hear no more of our castle till the reign of Edward III. It had, no doubt, been dismantled with a great many other strongholds, in order to diminish the power of the barons. In the 14th year of Edward III. John, Lord Moline, held the lordship of Ludgershall. He, for the better support of his dignity as a banneret, obtained from the king an order to impark his woods. Castles being about that time the nurseries of rebels it is probable that the king kept many of them in his own hands, and this among others, since no mention

is made of any governor in this or the succeeding reigns.<sup>1</sup>

And though Edmund of Hadham, Earl of Richmond, held the manor of Lutegershall in fee tail and died possessed of it 35 Hen. VI., and George, Duke of Clarence (that Duke of Clarence who is popularly supposed to have been drowned in a butt of malmsey), though he had a grant of it in special tail, 16 Edw. IV., with all the knights' fees thereunto belonging, yet nothing is said of the castle, which renders it probable that it was either dismantled or that the king did not choose to trust it in the hands of a subject. In Leland's time, the beginning of the sixteenth century, it was "clene down," but a "pratie lodge" had been built out of the ruins and still belonged to the crown.

In the time of Edw. VI. it was granted to the first Earl of Bedford, but soon afterwards became the property of the Brydges family, ancestors of the Duke of Chandos. Sir Richard Brydges was Member for the borough in 1553. He married Jane, daughter of Sir William Spenser, of Wormleighton, in Warwickshire. There is a fine old monument, but in a somewhat dilapidated condition, erected to their memory in the Church. He died in 1558; she was living at Ludgershall with her younger son, Edmund, in 1587. I cannot find any records of proprietors of the manor between 1587 and 1751, when it belonged to John Selwyn, Esq., who in the same year bequeathed it to his father. George Augustus Selwyn, the celebrated wit of George the Third's time, succeeded to it in 1763. Thackerary, in one of the early numbers of the "Cornhill Magazine," in one of his lectures on the four Georges, says of Selwyn that he "represented Glo'ster for many years, and had a borough of his own, Ludgershall, for which when he was too lazy to contest Glo'ster, he sat himself. The subserviency of Ludgershall to its witty patron was so well known that it is said he was once asked if he could not

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<sup>1</sup> "Robert Attewater perpetual chaplain of the Chantry of S. Mary of Ludgarshall by consent of John Mervyle and Wm. Allemore seneschal of the chantry have granted to John and Margery North two burgages in Ludgarshall in the street called Winchester St. for 101 years, paying 8<sup>d</sup> a year. Witness John Pille Wm. Bushap, Walter South and John Sabbe then Bailiff of the vill:"

[One of the seals that of the town of Ludgershall.]

Dated Feast of All Saints, 7 Henry IV.

(Heneage's Deeds.)



return a negro, if he chose, as Member. The reply was, 'No doubt, but I think he would have to come from the "Guinea" Coast.' 'I have given directions for the election of Ludgershall to be of Lord Melbourne and myself,' he writes to the Premier, whose friend he was, and who was himself as sleepy, as witty, and as goodnatured as George." This was in 1780, and he died in 1781. George Selwyn's heir was Lord Sidney, who sold his interest to Sir James Graham, of Kirkstead, who in turn was succeeded by Sir Sandford Graham, who was one of the Members of the borough at the time of its disenfranchisement. Everybody knows that Ludgershall returned two Members to Parliament from 1295 to 1831, a complete list of whom may be found in Hoare's "History of Wiltshire." The manor has changed hands twice since that time (1832), the present owner, Mr. Nathaniel Young, having purchased it from the executors of the late Mr. Maund.

Of the castle, to which of course Ludgershall owed all the importance it ever possessed, but little remains, but from some round-headed windows still to be seen it was pronounced by Mr. Britton to be of Norman origin. It stands in a Roman encampment nearly half-a-mile in circumference. A print of the ruins as they were in 1775 shews that little or no alteration can have taken place since that time. The old well still furnishes an ample supply of water. It has never been known quite to fail, but it was so low in the dry summer of 1869 that the then occupier of the Castle Farm had decided to have it cleaned out, and we all looked forward to the discovery of many curious relics of bygone times, but—it began to rain that night, other work was found for the hands on the farm, and the treasures, if any, still remain, like Truth, at the bottom of the well. Some old names still linger about the place. There is the "Bowling Alley" hard by the "Banqueting House." We have our "Butts." There is a "West Park," a "Long Park," and a "Wood Park." There is the "Deer Leap," where, no doubt, many a noble hart fell a victim to his pursuers, and when restoring the walls of the chancel of the Church, ten years ago, we found some pieces of horn—I believe those of the red deer—in the old "put-log" holes, a fact which seems to bear out the description I

have seen in an old gazetteer, which somewhat curtly dismisses Ludgershall with the remark that "it is celebrated for its tumuli and is the resort of sportsmen."

I must not forget to mention the market-cross which stands in the middle of the village. The carving is almost effaced, but it is just possible to make out the four subjects, viz., the Crucifixion, the Ascension, the Three Marys, and "Feed my Lambs." Some of its larger stones, I believe, form part of the foundation of the opposite house, and its total demolition was happily prevented by a stranger, who happened to be driving by at the time and who remonstrated with the local authorities on the subject.

Trees there used to be in plenty, both elm and walnut, on either side of the street, but in 1827 many were cut down by the steward of the manor and the proceeds employed, I believe, in repairing the house in which I myself at present reside. I am also indebted to the jealousies and strifes of former inhabitants for the group of elms in front of my windows. The story runs that an occupier of the "Queen's Head" hostelry, then the "George and the Dragon," having a quarrel with a near neighbour who possessed a windmill, promptly planted a belt of elms the windward side of it. The windmill is no more. The trees have thriven. Truly "it is an ill wind that blows nobody any good."

The Church, dedicated to S. James, was probably founded as early as the twelfth century, the north wall of the present nave appearing to have formed a portion of the original Church. The chancel and tower perhaps date from the middle of the thirteenth century, the chancel especially having all the characteristics of a simple village Church of that period. The north transept was built about a century later, and was no doubt dedicated as a chantry, for though the altar has, of course, been removed, the piscina still remains. A window on the north side of the nave is also of the same date as this transept. Still later the windows on the south side were inserted, and probably about this period the high-pitched roofs were replaced by others less lofty. It is very possible that the south wall of the nave may have been re-built about this time. A rood screen was also added at the entrance to the chancel; portions

of the staircase leading to it still remain, and until very recently part of the old screen itself was in existence, and occupying its original position. This was the age of large windows, and, in obedience to the prevailing fashion, the eastern triplet was walled up or removed, and a Perpendicular window of three lights substituted. The next addition was a south chantry, probably erected by the representatives of Sir Richard Brydges and his wife, whose tomb stands in the archway which communicates with the Church, and is dated 1558. The chancel has recently been restored with the ancient triplet. The body of the Church has been re-seated, and it is hoped some day to re-roof both the nave and the south chantry.

In the chancel east window are the arms of Henry Chicheley, Archbishop of Canterbury. Henry Chicheley, born about 1362, was an intimate friend of Mitford, Bishop of Salisbury, who gave him several preferments in Sarum Church. He was Archdeacon of Dorset, 1397, and of Sarum, 1402. He had for some time the vicarage of Sherston, North Wilts, and Melcombe Bingham, Co. Dorset. He became Bishop of St. David's, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, 1414. He died 1443. He was founder of All Souls College, Oxford.

The presentations to the Rectory of Ludgershall, as recorded in the Sarum Registers, run in the name of Budesden, or Biddesden, from 1306 to 1446; in the names Ludgershall *and* Biddesden till 1465; after which Ludgershall alone appears. Biddesden belonged to the Ambresbury (Amesbury) Monastery. There is still a "Chapel" Copse and a "Lady" Lawn. At a later period it belonged to General Webb, the great friend of the Duke of Marlborough. He was at the siege of Lisle, whence he brought home the great bell which now hangs in the turret at Biddesden House. He was killed at the battle of Malplaquet in 1709.

In September, 1708, Marlborough was besieging Lisle, and would have been obliged to raise the siege but for General Webb. A convoy of provisions—seven hundred waggons—was on its way, which the French wanted to intercept. General Webb, by an action at Wynendale, saved it. Marlborough wrote to the English Government thus:—

"Webb and Cadogan have on this occasion, as they always will do, behaved themselves extremely well. The success of this vigorous action is in a great measure owing to them, If they had not succeeded, and our convoy had been lost, the consequences must have been the raising of the siege next day."

Coxe then says:—"The first information of the brilliant exploit at *Wynendale*, which appears to have been transmitted by some indirect channel, ascribes the principal merit of the achievement to General Cadogan, as the senior officer. This statement being printed in the *Gazette*, General Webb was deeply offended, and quitting the army in disgust, published an explanatory narrative in support of his own fame. Every endeavour was made by Government to counteract the consequences of the misstatement. The gallant general was honoured with the recommendation of his commander and the rewards of his sovereign, and appears to have been satisfied with the reparation he received. The Duke of Marlborough was loudly accused by his political enemies of having felt envy towards an inferior officer, and of having acted partially towards his favourite (Cadogan)." (Coxe's "Life," iii., 3.)

Webb was afterwards one of the officers in command at the battle of Malplaquet, but in his description of the battle Archdeacon Coxe does not make the least allusion to the victory being in any way owing to Webb in particular.

There is a fine life-size portrait of this hero in the hall of Biddesden.

The estate was purchased by the grandfather of the present owner, Mr. Henry Everett, *c.* 1780.

The registers of Ludgershall go back as far as 1609, and are in Latin till the year 1620. They contain the usual eccentricities of entry. A certain individual named John Coombs figures prominently among the parish clerks. He gives great importance to the christenings and marriages which happened in the great families of the district, as also to those in his own family, these events being chronicled with many flourishes and in larger characters than usual—the embellishment which they receive being, perhaps, regulated by the amount of his fee or the quality of the entertainment provided on such festive occasions. It is curious that when practising caligraphy, which he often does, he is for ever choosing the

well-known school-boys' copy, "If thou art ignorant, be not ashamed . . ." but he never finishes the copy or practises the moral it is intended to convey.

Ludgershall would seem to have had its tales of romance in later years. I remember a nephew of mine who was staying with me for his holidays getting hold of a then very popular novel, in which he appeared deeply interested. I asked him how he liked his book. "Awfully," was the reply, "it's all about love and murder." It was his idea of romance, you see, and I suppose the author's. If it be a correct idea Ludgershall has had its share, for I read that a son of a former occupier of the Castle Farm (1789) being crossed in love, first destroyed the object of his affections and then died by his own hand. He was buried as a suicide at the foot of Windmill Hill. A tradition also exists of a maiden who drowned herself for love (1729) in the village pond. It must have been a hard matter, one would think, but the register tells me that by that time she had reached the somewhat mature age of 39 years, and had, no doubt, become a very determined character.

A few years ago there was found among the rubbish in a loft at Crawlboys Farm a diary, written on parchment, kept by a certain John Capps—who by his own showing was a servant to Mr. Borlase Webb (the achievement hanging up in Ludgershall Church shews that General Webb was twice married, (1) to one of the Borlase family of Cornwall; (2) to a Vilett, of Swindon), which contains many curious allusions to events which happened in his time. It begins thus:—

"1713. Dyed my grandfather, James Capps."

"1714. Dyed that great Princess Queen Anne."

It goes on to tell of eclipses, meteors, and the prices of provisions, meat being *very* dear at 3½*d.* a lb. in 1759; it had risen to 5*d.* and 6*d.* in 1771. His accounts of the struggles of party politics in his time are very interesting, but too long to re-produce here to-night. I shall be happy to show the diary to anyone who is curious on the subject. I must, however, read you the account of how there was a

contest for Ludgershall in 1734, and how the election was won. It all comes as follows, under the heading of the year 1734 :—

“1734. Mr. Richard Earle of Chute dyed in the month of April and on the 27th of this same month and year came on at Ludgershall an election of members to serve in Parliament for that borough. The candidates were my master Borlase Webb Esq: John Dalston Esq: Peter Delmé Esq: Daniel Boone Esq: and a great, great struggle it was at the polling. But as there happened to be two returning officers by name William Crouch and John Sturgess the latter of whom was in the interest of Mr. Delmé and Mr. Boone, and by means of art and power obtained the writt and so returned them as duly elected to the sheriff of Wilts who was also of the same side of the question, and likewise absolutely refused William Crouch’s return, tho’ carried by Mr. Webb himself in person to Westbury Leigh, the place where the sheriff lived, whose name was Thomas Phipps Esq: I likewise attended Mr. Webb in this journey. But the principal person interested in this affair was John Selwyn Esq: commonly called Colonel Selwyn who had at this time purchased a considerable number of valuable tenements so that Mr. Delmé and Mr. Boone was nominated by him (at least Mr. Delmé was), and both sat in all that parliament.”

There is also an account of a contest for the county in the year 1772, between Mr. Herbert and Mr. Goddard, when Mr. Goddard was returned with 1000 majority, and “ ’tis said £20,000 was spent in one week.”

I will read only one more extract from the diary of this worthy old man, and a very touching one it is :—

“Friday the 20th of October, 1752, about 11 o’clock in the morning dyed my wife and left me four children, the eldest but 14 years of age, the youngest 6 years and a half and was buried Sunday Evening following in the Churchyard at Ludgershall. Her bearers was Thos: Smith, Thos: Pavey, Wm. Stone, Thos: Crouch, John Finn, and Wm. Munday. Mr. Yaldwyn buried her corpse—and the children all attended at the grave. A dolefull time.”

He died in 1778, and there is a gravestone which marks his last resting-place.

He also speaks, or rather writes, of wars and rumours of wars, of exploits by land and sea, of riots, cattle disease, &c., &c., but, as I said before, if anyone is desirous of so doing, he may come to Ludgershall and read for himself.

My paper has somehow spun itself out to a greater length than I had anticipated, and than you in all probability have desired. I

can only thank you for your kind attention, and promise a hearty welcome to any who are thinking of paying a visit to-morrow to "Ludgershall and its Castle."

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## APPENDIX.

Among the royal letters in the Tower is one addressed by Henry III. to the Pope, in which he mentions that one of his reasons for desiring the marriage of his sister Eleanora (afterwards wife of Simon de Montfort) with William Earl of Pembroke, was that he should "restore unto us the castles of Merleberg and Lutegareshall," of which he had somehow become possessed; accordingly, on his betrothal, he placed them in the hands of the Papal Legate to be held for the king until the consummation of the marriage.

In June, 1274, the Queen's mother, Eleanor of Provence, with her grandchildren, Eleanora, afterwards Duchess of Bar, and Henry (children of Edward I.), resided at Ludgershall. While here sugar and oil were sent from London for their use.—*Wardrobe Roll Account.*

In 1292, Edward I. granted his daughter Mary, Abbess of Amesbury, forty oaks from the forests of Chute and Bakeholt.

The Abbess Mary and her young cousin (daughter of Henry of Lancaster, and granddaughter of Edward Crouchback, afterwards Abbess of Amesbury), Isabella of Lancaster, a nun, made a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas of Canterbury. On a Tuesday they reached Andover from Newbury, and thence visited Amesbury. On the Wednesday they paused at Ludgershall, and remained in the "royal palace there until Saturday, and thence proceeded to Stockbridge," after which their escort left them, as the road towards Winchester was now considered safe.—*Wardrobe Account.*

Aug. 22nd, 1305. The Abbess Mary took her young half-brothers, Thomas and Edmund, to Ludgershall and stayed there some time.

Henry de Lutgershall was entrusted with the remains of the little Princess Eleanora, daughter of Edward I. and his second wife, Marguerite of France, when in 1311 she was conveyed for burial from Amesbury to Beaulieu.—*Wardrobe Accounts of Edward II.*

In 1316 Abbess Mary went to Court from Amesbury, again passing through Andover and Ludgershall on the 1st of May. Here she paid a guide 4*d.* to show the way to Newbury.

About 1317 Edward II. granted his sister Mary the manor of Ludgershall, valued at £26 per annum, with its military fiefs, Church presentations, &c.—*Rot. Pat.*, 10 *Ed. II.*

In a letter patent, under date November 27th, 1377, we find Richard II. making sure to his aunt, Isabella, Countess of Bedford, daughter of Edward III., the manors of "Cosham, Mershton, Meysey, et Ludgarshall in comitatie Wiltes."

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## Notes on the Border of Wilts and Hants.

By the Rev. Canon J. E. JACKSON, F.S.A.\*

**OUR** Wiltshire Society having this year travelled out of its own proper district, it seemed to me only a suitable return for the welcome you have given us that, in the address which I have been asked to make, such topographical points should be handled, as, lying within *our* limits, are nearest in situation to *you*.

On the plan before you is the border line that divides Wiltshire from Hampshire. I propose merely to give a cursory account of some things that have happened, and of some that are to be seen, on the Wiltshire side. All on the western side belongs to the Archæological Society of Hampshire, which it is to be hoped may some day be formed.

Let me on this subject first say a few words. There is now no longer any doubt of the utility of such societies. It is not merely that they afford rational amusement for a few days to those who have

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\* Read at the Meeting of the Wilts Archæological Society at Andover, August 13th, 1883.



a liking for local antiquities, but it is acknowledged that by their means much is saved from oblivion that would otherwise be utterly lost. They assist the regular historian in a humble way, by bringing to light from neglected documents *secret history* which very often puts an entirely new face upon history as commonly received. Then the spade and the plough, carefully watched (for this is most essential), often disclose memorials of times past that throw fresh light upon the former state of things in an unexpected yet undeniable way. Mr. Green, in the preface to his popular book called "The Making of England," says that "In addressing himself to a very difficult task in a very obscure period, he has availed himself of some resources that hitherto have been unduly neglected. Archæological researches on the sites of villas and towns, or along a line of road or dyke, often furnish us with evidence even more trustworthy than that of written chronicle."

But there is another reason why such societies are to be encouraged. The pursuits of the archæologist lead him to take more pleasure in his home and neighbourhood. Those places are all part, not of a new country of mushroom growth, but of a very old one; every nook and corner of which has some little history or tradition of its own. We have not all of us the liberty of wild geese, to be flying all over the world: we must be content to be tame geese, biding at home in our farmyards: and the more we can pick up there the more satisfied we shall be to stop there.

Let me quote the words of a distinguished man, one of your own county, the late Lord Palmerston. Addressing on a certain occasion a company who had kept up some old-fashioned custom, he said, "I honour you for it. There is nothing which more dignifies man than clinging to ancient and honourable traditions. Our patriotism, like our charity, ought to begin at home. A man should begin by loving his home and his family: he should then love his town and his district: he should then love his county: and then he will love his country. So far from these local attachments narrowing the human mind or cramping and debasing its sympathies, they are the real, the true and stable foundation for the true and honest feelings that bind men to the nation and country in which they live." I

hope, therefore, that Hampshire may have its society to help in keeping alive the love of old things. You have an admirable example in the person of one very well known to you, your neighbour the Earl of Carnarvon. He is at this moment the President of the Society of Antiquaries, in London, and personally takes a most hearty and active part in its proceedings.

I ought, perhaps, to apologise for speaking of your county as Hampshire. It is commonly so called, and abbreviated into Hants. But the proper name is the county of Southampton, *South*, to distinguish it from the *North*-ampton of the Midlands. The letter *p* has no business to be in the name; *am* being merely an oral corruption of *Afen* or *Avon*: if the old topographers, Camden and Lambarde, are correct in telling us that the Anglo-Saxon word was North-afen-dun.<sup>1</sup>

It is also a county, not a shire: a distinction on which provincial vanity sometimes lays considerable stress. The case seems to be that in very ancient times the whole country consisted of little principalities: varying in size according to circumstances now impossible to explain. Under the Saxons these divisions continued, becoming comities, or counties under a comes or count. When King Alfred divided these into hundreds and tithings, he severed, or *sheared* off, from some counties portions which became our shires. Essex, Kent, Middlesex, Cornwall, Norfolk, Suffolk, and others, claim the more dignified name of county, and scorn that of shire. There was a time when you of Hants and we of Wilts were common subjects of the kingdom of Wessex. Then came a subdivision, and a line was drawn to sever us from you. The line, as it appears on the plan, appears a very irregular one, but the reason is simple, viz., that it merely followed the outline of the various parishes and manors as they had existed from time immemorial. There is no distinct account of the time when this was done: but it is commonly believed to have been King Alfred who settled the present division of England. It was certainly done before the reign of William I. But this is only one of many arrangements that exist, of the origin

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<sup>1</sup> Ruding, on Coins, ii., p. 173.

of which we know little or nothing. Our remote ancestors seem to have been of the same way of thinking as one of the ancient Pharaohs, of whom a story is told. "When the art of writing was discovered in that country the ingenious inventor went to show it to the king. 'What use,' said he, 'do you mean to make of this?' 'To help memory, Sire,' was the answer. 'No,' said the King, 'you will not help memory: you will destroy memory: because, if my people put things down in writing and trust to the paper, they won't take the pains to remember them: so your fine invention will do more harm than good.'" It did not occur to him that however carefully the memory is cultivated and writing neglected, still, when men die their memory dies with them, and if what they knew was worthy of being known hereafter but was not committed to writing, posterity was not likely to know much about it. That is the reason why we are almost in the dark about some periods of English history.

Perhaps, as archæologists, you may feel disposed to say "It is well for us they did not record everything, for if they had, and the records had survived, our occupation had gone."

#### BOUNDARY LINE.

The total length of the line that divides the county of Southampton from the shire of Wilts is about sixty miles: and it begins, towards the north, at a point called Buttermere Corner, where Wilts, Berks, and Hants meet. Buttermere itself is a little village on the Wiltshire side. Not far off, but in Hampshire, and at the northernmost point of it, is another little village called Combe, of which I have a very pleasant recollection, having passed two following summers there, for reading purposes, whilst I was an undergraduate at Oxford. I was never in this part of England before, and Combe was my first perch in the south. Combe is a very common name for villages, especially near the downs or other ranges of hills. The word is Welsh, and means a particular kind of valley: for all vallies are not combes. Two ranges of hills may be divided by a narrow valley, as at Clifton near Bristol. That is the valley of the Avon: but it is not a combe. I believe that a combe proper is a

long scoop down the side of a hill, reaching from the very top to the very bottom, along which you may walk or drive up from the level at the bottom, by a gradual gentle slope, all the way to the top. The scoop-out may be longer or shorter, wider or narrower, but the essence of it is, that it be a gradually sloping valley. I speak under correction: but that is a description which corresponds with most of the places to which I have observed the name of Combe to be attached.

#### BACKSWORDING MATCH.

It was during my stay at Combe that I was witness to a rustic amusement, once very popular, but of which I have heard nothing for so many years that I fancy it must have nearly died out. If so, it becomes an archæological reminiscence. This was then called a backswording match: the same pastime which in one of his "Spectator" papers Addison says he saw at Bath in 1703. He describes it as "a ring of cudgel-players, who were breaking one another's heads in order to make some impression on their mistresses' hearts." I saw it in 1825, at a revel at Hurstbourne, half-way between Combe and Andover. In the middle of the village, on an open space, a wooden stage was erected, about three feet high from the ground, fenced with ropes to protect the combatants from being thrown or falling off. What the prize at Hurstbourne was, whether a mistress's heart, or a cheese, a new hat, or a purse of money, I do not remember: but it ought to have been something singularly attractive, the Queen of Beauty should have been eminently beautiful, the cheese of prime quality, the hat very smart, or the purse very heavy, to induce fellows to stand up and have their heads cracked in the way I saw done for the amusement of a gaping crowd. Of that crowd of gapers I confess with shame that I was one: but at that time of life it was looked upon as fun: and the more so because the combatants themselves seemed to consider it in much the same light. These village gladiators fought by pairs, in turns, and the winner was he who succeeded in breaking most heads, or, in breaking the head of him who had broken most others'. The

three principal performers were : (1) a stupid raw youth, who represented Wiltshire ; (2) a short, thick-set quiet little man, who stood for Somerset ; and (3) the Hampshire hero (the favourite of course), a thin wiry dark-featured gypsy, with aquiline nose and the eye of a hawk, who skipped about as if he were made of gutta percha. They fought bare-headed, with the left arm fastened to the waist, so that they might not use it to ward off blows. To hit an opponent on the face was against rules : but to hit him on the top of the head was the grand point, and the grandest of all to hit him so as to produce blood. Never shall I forget that gypsy's keen eye looking out for the effect of his blow, and how joyfully, when he saw it, he called out "Blood," and dropped his weapon. The Wiltshire man was very soon disposed of, but when it came to the final match, the steady cautious little man cracked the gypsy's head, and Somerset won the day.

The chalk down above Combe, looking northward over Berkshire, is, I believe, the highest point of chalk in this part of England. A gallows stands, or used to stand, at the very place where the down is 1011 feet above the level of the sea. A little way off towards Woodhay there is a large earthwork, called Walbury, and on the side of the down under Walbury are some of those grassy rings connected probably with ancient burial.

But we must begin our walk along the Wilts side of the boundary.

#### CHUTE.

The first tract to be crossed is the old Chute Forest formerly belonging to the Crown. A forest in former days did not mean a large wood of trees only : but a district, subject to the old severe forest law : within which district, so many miles long and so many broad, the forest law was enforced, and a heavy penalty levied on any person who killed wild animals within it : especially the deer, which were the King's game. Within the limits of the district there might be open fields and farms, as well as woods and coppices belonging to private gentlemen, but I believe that at Chute all was Crown estate. In very early times this forest and Hippinescombe

were held under the Crown by a family of the name of Columbars, whose name often occurs as great territorial lords in that part of Wilts. There was one part of Chute that belonged to Hyde Abbey, at Winchester.

Chute Forest ran into both counties: one part was called Chute Wilts; the other Chute Hampshire. Chute Hampshire came down as far as Hurstbourne, and the Doles. In this part of the forest there were one thousand acres and twenty coppices. Chute Wilts fell into the hands of Protector Somerset, who indeed contrived to get into his hands most of the tract of country between Chute and Marlborough.

The meaning of the name of Chute I do not know. It is very likely some old Celtic word. There are two parishes: Chute proper, and Chute Forest. In the former and northernmost lies Conholt, formerly called Chute Park. This place was made into a park by a Sir Philip Medows in Charles the Second's time. He had been Secretary to Oliver Cromwell and Ambassador to Portugal. His last male descendants were two: Sir Sidney Medows, who built the present house in 1762, and a Philip Medows. Philip married a Pierrepont, heiress to the Dukes of Kingston, of Kingston House, at Bradford-on-Avon. Their son, Charles Medows, assumed the name of Pierrepont, and from him is descended the lady who is now the occupier of Conholt, the Lady Charles Wellesley.

There was at Chute in Charles the Second's time a celebrated character, who somehow or other earned a bad reputation, Sir William Scroggs, who was no less a person than Lord Chief Justice of England. His origin was not very great: he was born in London, and being intended for a divine, went to Pembroke College, Oxford, in 1643: but having previously been a soldier, and having borne arms for Charles I. as a captain, at Colchester, in 1640, he was disqualified for holy orders: so took to the law, and rose to the high office mentioned. Along with two other judges he was impeached on a report of the House of Commons, for certain arbitrary and illegal proceedings, in 1680. The poets have embalmed him, but not in the most fragrant of spices. The first, the anonymous author of a poem called "Naboth's Vineyard," in the following lines:—

“ His corrupted youth  
Had made his soul an enemy to Truth,  
But Nature furnished him with parts and wit;  
For bold attempts and deep intriguing fit.  
Small was his learning; and his eloquence  
Did please the rabble, nauseate men of sense.  
Bold was his spirit, nimble was his tongue  
Which, more than Law or Reason takes the throng.  
Him part by money, partly by Her Grace  
The covetous Queen raised to a Judge's place.  
And as he bought his place, he Justice sold,  
Weighing his causes, not by Law, but Gold.” \*

The second severe lash is given by Dryden, in his “*Essay on Satire*” :—

“ Words and wit did anciently agree :  
And Tully was no fool though this man be.  
At Bar abusive : on the Bench unable,  
Knave on the woolsack : fop at council-table.” †

#### CHUTE CAUSEWAY.

There are about Chute several traces of antiquity, especially Roman, and more particularly that which is called Chute Causeway.

Two main Roman roads crossed one another nearly at right angles near Andover. One from Old Sarum to Silchester, west to east. The other from Porchester to Marlborough, south to north. I believe the latter may be traced as far as Tangley : after that all traces are lost. It then re-appears towards Conholt Park. Near there it traverses an earthwork called Bevisbury. An old MS. account, written one hundred and fifty years ago, says that “*Sir Philip Medows who made the park got leave to take in the Roman way, and make it the boundary of his park. Here it makes a grand terrace walk, and the road is constructed in a remarkable manner. The basis of the causeway, being a high bed of flint the natural*

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\* Dryden's works (W. Scott's Edit.), vol. ix., p. 198.

† Ditto, vol. xv., 210.

product of the country, is therefore no curiosity; the upper stratum indeed has much of the marvellous which the Romans affected in all their works, it being a beautiful gravel and whence brought is not easy to be imagined, as no parts of the country produce any such material. This, when Sir Philip made his park, being uncovered, made one of the noblest terrace gravel-walks possible in Europe. But the third or middle stratum of the causeway is marvellous and perfectly incomprehensible. I [says the old writer] was first shewn to take notice of it by the present Sir Sidney. By the thickness of the bed of it and its extent in length as I have at times observed it, I cannot but imagine here are thousands of loads: and nothing like it in this or any other country that I can ever hear of. It has the likeness of the cynders and ashes of a blacksmith's forge." Sir Richard Colt Hoare's account of the Roman road from this point is as follows:—"Immediately before it quits the park it takes a singular form, making a short angle to the left, to avoid a very steep declivity on the right which presented an insuperable obstacle to a straight line. This was avoided by a circuitous course round the hill: and in no instance of a Roman road have I seen so long a deviation, which extended nearly three miles. After having commenced the curve the form of the causeway continues very decided in its course, over a wild tract of poor land called Chute Heath, on which are a few scattered barrows indicating the former existence of the Britons on this elevated spot. The dreary aspect of the foreground is forgotten by a very fine distant prospect; the whole extent of Wilts, as far as Alfred's Tower, is discernible, as well as the distant hills of the Isle of Wight."

In the open field a few yards from the causeway on the north side, overlooking Black Down and Hippingscombe, lies a large flat rude stone, with certain wavy marks upon it (which, however, may only be the effect of weathering upon the grain of the stone). It is traditionally called the stone of one Kinward, some ancient magnate who held his Hundred court here in the open air, whence

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<sup>1</sup> "Ancient Wilts, Roman Period," p. 68.



the name of Kinwardstone to this Hundred in the county of Wilts.

Sir R. C. Hoare continues :—" A further object for the antiquary occurs in this curve near a small alehouse called ' Scot's Poor.' A large bank and foss vulgarly called Wansdyke which the Roman causeway crosses."

The " large bank and foss " are called Wansditch in Dury's Map of Wilts, " erroneously," says Sir R. C. Hoare (Ancient Wilts, Part I., p. 187), but as the course of Wansdyke eastward of Savernake Forest is much interrupted, becomes very indistinct, and breaks off altogether on the hill above Shalbourn, it is hardly safe to say of any bank and foss that may be met in this district, that it is no part of Wansdyke. The bank at Scots Poor, however, seems to have been a branch of it : for Sir Richard, in a note to his work,<sup>1</sup> adds that, at the time of his visit, the public-house was then kept by a man who had once been a shepherd and had made himself acquainted with the numerous dykes and banks of that neighbourhood; and that this man had traced the Scots Poor bank at intervals from Silchester to Old Sarum and that it had several branches. Sir Richard further adds that in a subsequent excursion he had followed this bank and ditch for many miles till he found it united with the *real* Wansdyke.

All the way along, and in every direction, passing by Buddesden and the Collingbournes, are marks of British settlement, barrows, camps, and dykes; memorials of ancient occupation, fighting, and burial. It is impossible to make clear history of these monuments : for none has come down to us. An ancient author reports that when Alexander the Great, traversing Asia Minor in the course of his conquests, arrived at the great mound called The Tomb of Achilles, on the promontory of Sigeum, he exclaimed, " Oh fortunate young hero, in having had a Homer to celebrate your valour " : but when we stand upon our great Wiltshire mounds, such, for instance, as Silbury, near Marlborough, which, for anything we know, may cover the remains of some Wiltshire hero, no less valiant than the son of Peleus, our exclamation, the reverse of Alexander's, can only

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<sup>1</sup> " Ancient Wilts, Roman Period," p. 69.

be, "Oh *un*-fortunate hero, sleeping below, that had no bard to tell us what you did, or even who you were!" We need not, therefore, pause over these sepulchral mounds, but go on to a great natural hill with an artificial summit, called

#### CIDBURY.

This is curious from its geological structure. It is a hill of chalk standing boldly up on a plain of chalk, but when in your excursion you reach the top, you will find it capped with a stratum of round flint pebbles. How came a bed of water-rolled pebbles at that isolated elevation? The explanation is, that they are the remains of a stratum which at one time overlaid the whole of the chalk district, but at some later period has been washed away. Relics of strata once super-incumbent, such as beds of gravel, sand, and clay are frequently found on the highest tops of the chalk downs: those of clay sometimes of the proper quality for making bricks.

The summit of Cidbury was, at some remote period, formed into a camp; and from the principal entrance into the encampment there is a trace of a long causeway leading towards Everley. Near this causeway are groups of round cavities, little pits in the ground, considered to be the remains of an ancient British village. It seems that, after the fashion still in use in some of the savage islands described in books of voyages, they dug large round pits in the earth, and covered them over with conical roofs, of rafters and thatch. There is a very remarkable collection of these half-subterranean wigwams at a place called Pen Pits, on the western border of Wilts, near Mere and Stourhead. For half-a-mile, or so, all over the side of the hill the ground is honeycombed in circular pits. It was for a long time a doubt what they really had been: but the opinion seems now to be fully adopted that they really were ancient dwelling-places. We read in the classic writers of a people called Troglodytes, dwellers in caves in Ethiopia. There are Troglodytes in Liverpool to this day—a large part of the population actually living in hovels cut out of the solid sandstone rock. There is, therefore, nothing at all incredible in the idea of our ancestors having shewn a preference for burrowing, like rabbits, in dry chalk and soft sand.

## TIDWORTH.

Tidworth, near Cidbury, is so close upon our border line that it lies on both sides of it, North Tidworth being in Wilts, South Tidworth in this county. This morsel of rather nice topography was, unluckily, not within the knowledge of the London solicitors of the late mighty hunter, Mr. Asheton Smith: and the consequence of it was the important lawsuit, which is too fresh in your memory to require any archæological research.

Some part of Tidworth once belonged to the family of Poore: a very ancient Wiltshire name, going so far back as two Bishops of Sarum, Herbert and Richard Poore, who succeeded one another in that Bishopric at the end of the twelfth century. The Sarum of which they were bishops was Old Sarum: but it was Richard Poore who effected the transfer of the see to modern Salisbury.

There was a gentleman of that family whom I have often heard spoken of by the late Mr. John Britton, our distinguished Wiltshire antiquary, Mr. Edward Poore, as a very literary man who had travelled much, read much, and associated much with men of letters and science, and who had left behind him a vast quantity of manuscripts. I made enquiry about these many years ago, in hopes that something might have been preserved of use to us in our endeavours to throw light upon our county history: but I was informed that, though there were six thousand and more pages of writing still preserved, yet they were all upon general subjects, and would be of no assistance to us.

## THE DÆMON OF TIDWORTH.

A house at Tidworth (the same, I believe, that was lived in by the Poore Family,) had been, before their time, the property of a previous family, of the name of Mompesson: and during their occupation it was the scene of a very celebrated ghost story, called "The Dæmon of Tidworth," or, "The Invisible Drummer." A ghost story still continues quite as much as ever to take a fascinating hold of the popular mind: but two hundred years ago the whole country was literally absorbed in the charming mystery which surrounded "The Invisible Drummer." Addison actually wrote a play

called "The Haunted House," which was acted at the London theatres, in which he introduced some of the circumstances; but it was a Mr. Joseph Glanville, Rector of Bath, who published the history of it at full length in a book called "Sadducismus Triumphatus." The outline of the story is this. In the year 1661, the reign of King Charles II., Mr. John Mompesson, of Tidworth, was an officer in the militia. Being at Ludgershall one day in the month of March, he heard a drum beating in the street. With the ear of a soldier he naturally asked what was going on. He was told by the gentleman of the town at whose house he was staying, that for some days they had been annoyed by an idle fellow who had gone about beating a drum and asking for money. Mr. Mompesson examined the man, and, finding him to be an impostor, took possession of the drum, and put the drummer into the hands of a constable. This official was one of the Dogberry school, whose orders were, when they got hold of a villain who shewed a strong dislike to being taken, "to let him go, and thank God you are rid of a knave." The Ludgershall policeman of 1661 did accordingly: so the drummer made his escape. But Mr. Mompesson did not let the drum go. He kept that unlucky valuable: and it was the cause to him and his of all the trouble that ensued. Presently strange noises began to be heard in the house at Tidworth, like the thumping of a drum: Mr. Mompesson got out his pistols, searched about, could find nothing or nobody. The noise would be repeated for several nights together: then for several be silent. The beds began to be shaken: and the windows to rattle, even in Mr. Mompesson's own room. The children heard noises under their beds, like scratchings with claws. They were removed to a garret: the noises followed them. Shoes were thrown over their heads. The servants had their hair pulled. Violent knockings, loud enough to alarm the neighbours: sounds like jingling of money. Then there was a scuffle between John, the steady old family servant, and somebody invisible: sometimes the invisible got the worst of it; sometimes John. There were other varieties of noise: a rattling of chains, a rustling of silk, sometimes a singing in the chimney; now and then a blue light, fitting up and down stairs: the children saw it also in their chamber.

Doors would be opened and shut half-a-dozen times: yet nobody seemed either to come in or go out; and then again half-a-dozen people seemed to be rushing in at once. During one of the times that the knocks were going on, one of the company, when many were present, mustered courage enough to venture upon exorcising the ghost by this fearful adjuration, "Satan! if the drummer set thee a-work, give three knocks and no more." The three knocks were given, and no more: but no further reply. Sir Thomas Chamberlayne, of Oxford, and several others, were present at that performance. Another time the village blacksmith slept in the house, and he undertook to discover all about it. Presently there came into his room a noise as of a man shoeing a horse; and something or other came as it were with a pair of pincers and snipt at the blacksmith's nose the greater part of the night. Another night a young lady was the victim. Her bed was lifted up, and there were noises underneath. They thrust in a sword, but nobody was hurt. Then there came out a noise like that of a dog panting for breath. They began to suspect witchcraft: for the bible belonging to the old gentlewoman of the house was found under the grate, open, with the paper side downward. Mr. Mompesson took it up, and observed that it lay open at the third chapter of St. Mark, where there is mention of unclean spirits being cast out by Beelzebub. So then they strewed dust over the floor of the room, to see what marks might be made upon it: and in the morning they found the resemblance of a great claw, and some mysterious letters, circles, and scratches. Mr. Glanville, the Rector of Bath, himself visited the house, and, though the knockings had ceased, he said he distinctly heard scratchings of the bed, and the panting of the dog very violent. Two or three nights would pass quietly: and then the noises would begin again. The candle would be put out in the children's room: and the children themselves trampled on. Something would purr in their bed, like a cat, and the children themselves would be lifted up, so that six men could not keep them down.

All this went on, at intervals, for two years. In the third year a gentleman that lay in the house found all the money in his pocket turned black: and one morning Mr. Mompesson going to his stable

found his horse with one of his hinder legs in his mouth, so fast, that it was difficult for men with a lever to get it out.

All these circumstances were related by Mr. Mompesson. The drummer, whose drum had been taken from him, was suspected to be at the bottom of it all. He was tried at Salisbury assizes, and condemned to be transported. He went, but somehow or other contrived to get back again. Mr. Mompesson then prosecuted him at Gloucester, as a felon, for supposed witchcraft, but he was acquitted.

The second Earl of Chesterfield, in one of his letters, says that the whole country was ringing with this story of the drum which Mr. Mompesson declared to be true. At last, in 1664, King Charles II. sent down Lord Falmouth, and the Queen sent Lord Chesterfield to the house to examine the truth of it. They could neither hear nor see anything extraordinary. The next year the King told Lord Chesterfield that he had discovered the cheat, for that Mr. Mompesson had confessed it all to him. Mr. Mompesson, however, in a printed letter, declared that he had never made any such confession. There is a curious examination in a journal called the "*Mercurius Rusticus*," of the 16th April, 1663, by which it appears that one William Drury, of Ufcot, near Broad Hinton, in Wilts, was the Invisible Drummer. Samuel Pepys, the author of the famous journal, read Mr. Glanville's narrative of the mysterious disturbances; and says of it: "The discourse well writ, in good style, but, methinks, not very convincing."

Mr. James Waylen, formerly of Devizes, the historian of that town and of Marlborough, writing in 1854, mentioned that he was possessed of some private original letters elucidating the history. I have not seen anything more from his pen upon the subject, except what he says in the Appendix to his *History of Marlborough* (p. 553):—"Every place has its ghost story. Hardly any of such legends are worth recording, except as illustrations of the remarkable hold which they appear to take on the fancy of both the learned and the rude, at certain epochs in the religious life of nations. Few persons are aware to what an extent the public mind was engaged at that time in questions of this sort." [The very judges on the bench, the great Sir Matthew Hale himself, you will remember, were

not altogether free from a belief in the supernatural, in witchcraft.] “Dr. Francis Hutchenson, in his historical essay on witchcraft, written apparently about the year 1700, mentions no less than twenty-four different works or essays which had all made their appearance since the Restoration of Charles II., the greater part of which had for their object the maintenance of the popular credulity upon such points.” Mr. Waylen adds that the performances at Mr. Mompesson’s house are now generally supposed to have been the result of gypsy confederacy, though this was far from being the opinion of the public at the time, or even of Mr. Mompesson himself, the owner of the house, for a son of his being asked by John Wesley, many years afterwards, “What was his father’s real opinion of that affair?” said, that whatever his father might have really thought, he was obliged to treat it as a hoax, to keep people away from his house: for so many came to visit it that he was afraid they would eat him out of house and home.

Enough of the Dæmon of Tidworth.

#### STONEHENGE SARSENS.

The county boundary at Clarendon Hill, about a mile west of North Tidworth, turns towards the south along an old landmark called the “Devil’s Ditch,” on the western side of Beacon Hill, down to Park House. The burial mounds called barrows abound in the direction of Ambresbury; and no wonder, for we are approaching what was once the fashionable burying-ground of eminent Ancient Britons.

It is tantalizing to pass by Stonehenge, so near our border-line, in silence: but it would be impossible to give any satisfactory account of that interesting ruin within the limits of our time: so that I will only mention one point connected with it which I do not remember to have seen noticed before. The larger stones, as you all know, are called Sarsens; but antiquaries are not all at one about the meaning of the word. At Park Gate, on the county boundary, on the road between Andover and Amesbury, there is, or was, in a field abutting on a narrow lane leading from the roadside inn, a flat stone, of large dimensions, 11ft. long, 12ft. in breadth, and 5ft. in

thickness. One of the many traditions about Stonehenge is that the great Sarsens came from Andover, and this Park Gate stone, in order to help the the tradition, is quoted as having been on its way thither but abandoned. Some years ago, remembering that there is a village in this county, not far from Amport, called Sarsden, it occurred to me as possible that Sarsen stones might take their name from Sarsden village, if only any such kind of stone could be found in or about that place. I named this to my late friend and neighbour, Mr. Poulett Scrope, an eminent geologist and an enthusiastic supporter of our Society. He had not thought of this before, but was so taken with the idea that we immediately organized an excursion together to hunt for Sarsden stone. We spent the best part of a day about the place without finding, or being able to hear of, anything of the kind. From the geological *age* and character of the ground it was hopeless to expect any original quarry of that sort of stone, and nobody could tell us of any loose blocks, great or small, lying about, as they do by hundreds in certain places upon the chalk. I therefore name our disappointment in order to save others the trouble of going to that place on a similar errand.

#### WINTERSLOW.

Resuming our boundary walk we pass by Winterslow, about which there are one or two things to be mentioned.

One of the old British burial mounds opened here some years ago yielded an article with which the Ancient Britons are not generally depicted: a specimen of very fine linen. In a grave, under an arch made of dry flints without mortar, were found the burnt bones of a corpse wrapped up in linen so delicate as to resemble a veil of the finest lace.<sup>1</sup> In another mound there was a curious find of a large store of silver pennies, ranging from Saxon times down to King Stephen. They were neatly and accurately cut in halves and quarters. The cross often marked on the reverse of money of our early pennies was intended to facilitate the breaking up of the silver

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<sup>1</sup> "Archæological Journal."



into a half or quarter penny<sup>1</sup>: an old way, but, to our ideas, rather a novel one, of obtaining "small change."

The manor of Winterslow was held of the crown by a curious tenure. Whenever the King came to Clarendon the Squire of Winterslow had to perform a little duty, perhaps not altogether disagreeable. He had to appear at Clarendon, go into the royal cellar, draw out of any vessel he pleased a pitcher of claret, and help the King to a cup of it. He then carried home, as his perquisite, the vessel out of which he had drawn the wine, and all the rest of the wine itself, together with the cup out of which the King had refreshed himself. As kings do not generally drink out of a sixpenny earthenware mug and pitcher, the Squire of Winterslow appears to have held his estate on singularly favourable terms.

The Winterslow property in course of time belonged to the family of Fox, Lord Holland. The house there was destroyed by a fire in the year 1774, one night when it was filled with company, and just after the performance of some private theatricals, the play having been "The Fair Penitent." Of this disaster a full account is given in the correspondence of James Harris, first Earl of Malmesbury, in a letter from Mrs. Harris to her son.

#### WINTERSLOW HOUSE BURNED.

From the "Letters of the first Earl of Malmesbury," vol i., p. 277.  
*Mrs. Harris to her son.*

"Salisbury, January 9th, 1774.

"Yesterday we dined at Canon Bowles's. At 5 I set off in his coach in the dark and rain, for the play at Winterslow, we got safe there, and were most highly entertained. Mrs. Hodges does the Fair Penitent most finely, and Mr. Fitzpatrick is the very thing for Lothario, dressed so elegantly, all white satin, trimmed with silver: I never saw so fine a figure. Lady Mary Fox was Lavinia, she looked and was dressed most prettily, but had the toothache, so was not in spirits. Charles Fox was Horatio, Mr. Kent Altamont. All did well. After the play we had "High Life below Stairs," and in the character of the Duke's Servant, Mr. Fitzpatrick exceeded all comic acting I have yet seen. When that was finished, we all repaired to the house to supper. The performance and company were very agreeable together. We got home in whole bones soon after one

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<sup>1</sup> Ellis's "Domesday," p. 424.

and in high spirits, but our joy is now turned to sorrow, for this morning, at 5, a fire broke out in the new building at Winterslow House and entirely consumed that and also the old house, except the kitchen and laundry. Though the house was full of company, fortunately no life was lost. It was discovered by some Salisbury chairmen, who, for want of a bed, were deposited on a carpet under the great stairs; they alarmed the house, and probably saved some lives. Lady Pembroke, Lady Mary Fox and her children were carried to the King's house: Miss Herbert, Mrs. Hodges, and the other ladies staid in the laundry: all the gentlemen stood by. As they had no engines, and little or no water but violent rain, they in a manner gave up all hope of the house: but their object was to save the furniture in which they have succeeded, though 'tis greatly damaged by dirt and rain. 'Tis thought, but not certain, that the fire was owing to some timber near a chimney in the new building. This new building you have never seen: it consisted of three magnificent rooms below, which made six good ones above, and were furnished very elegantly and expensively. I think of the contrast: we left that house this morning between twelve and one, all mirth and jollity, and by seven it was consumed: it really hurts me, when I think how many agreeable days I have spent in those rooms. Mr. Fox, Lady Mary, and their two children are gone to Wilton House. Tuesday they go to the Bath to Lord and Lady Holland. I fear they will not build on the same site again, so we shall lose a most agreeable neighbour. The play was to have been again to-morrow and a ball afterwards . . . Some say that during the flames Stephen, Charles Fox and Fitzpatrick got to a proper distance and laid bets as to which beam would fall in first. The friends of that house who resort to Almack's and White's say they are sorry they were not at Winterslow that night as they might have had an opportunity of seeing the family in a *new light*."

In some book where this story is told I have seen it stated that during the fire the celebrated Charles James Fox (afterwards the famous rival of William Pitt), being then an infant, was carried out in his nurse's arms in a blanket, and that England had a narrow escape from losing one of its eminent orators. This is very touching; but, unfortunately, the said Charles James Fox, instead of being an infant in his nurse's arms, was not only at this time a young man of 26 years of age, but he had just been acting the part of Horatio: and not only that: but, from what we know of that gentleman's propensities, it is much to be feared that he was one of those who stood watching the fire, laying bets as to which beam of the family mansion would fall first.

#### EXETER MAIL ATTACKED BY LIONESS.

The next event connected with Winterslow is one which I am

old enough to remember, and one which you may most of you have heard of: the singular attack, one night, upon the horses of the mail-coach by a lioness. The story is preserved in one of the old magazines, those very useful repositories of current events.

“1816. Oct. 20th. The Exeter mail-coach, on its way to London, was attacked this night at Winterslow Hut, near Salisbury, in a most extraordinary manner. At the moment when the coachman pulled up to deliver his bags, one of the leaders was suddenly seized by a ferocious animal, which was perceived by the coachman and guard, by the light of the lamps, to be a huge lioness. The horses kicked and plunged violently, and it was with difficulty the coachman could prevent the carriage from being overturned. A large mastiff dog came up and attacked her fiercely, on which she quitted the horse and turned upon him. The dog fled, but was pursued and killed by the lioness within about forty yards of the place. It appears that the beast had escaped from a caravan that was standing on the road-side, belonging to the proprietors of a menagerie, on their way to Salisbury Fair. An alarm being given the keepers pursued and hunted the lioness into a hovel under a granary: and secured her so effectually, by barricading the place, as to prevent her escape. The horse, when first attacked, fought with great spirit, and if at liberty would perhaps have beaten down his antagonist with his fore-feet, but in plunging he embarrassed himself in the harness. The lioness had attacked him in front, and springing at his throat had fastened the talons of her fore-paws on each side of his neck, close to the head, while the talons of her hinder feet were forced into his chest. In this situation she hung, while the blood was seen flying as if a vein had been opened by a lancet. The horse attacked was the off-leader, which, as the mail drew up, stood exactly abreast of the caravan from which the lioness made the assault. Had the carriage been a little more advanced she would probably have darted upon the coachman or guard. The coachman, at first, proposed to alight and stab the lioness with a knife, but was prevented by the remonstrance of the guard, who observed that he would expose himself to certain destruction, as the animal, feeling herself attacked, would turn upon him and tear him to pieces. The

prudence of the advice was clearly proved by the fate of the dog. It was the engagement between him and the lioness that gave time for the keepers to rally. But for that interference the mischief to the mail would have been more considerable."<sup>1</sup>

#### SIR BENJAMIN BRODIE.

Winterslow is further remarkable for having been the birthplace of the late eminent surgeon, Sir Benjamin Brodie. And there is a volume, written by the late Mr. Hazlitt, a distinguished author, which he calls "Winterslow," from having been composed whilst he resided at the village. I have not been able to meet with it in time for this paper, but I am told that the preface contains matter very interesting to those who are connected with the country and like to hear about it.

#### CLARENDON.

From Winterslow a few miles brings us to Clarendon Park, a palace of the Crown from the time of the Saxon Kings to Charles II. In the reign of Henry II. national councils were held here to adjust the differences between that king and Thomas á Becket: which ended in 1164 in producing the celebrated Constitutions of Clarendon of our legal history, by which it was hoped that a settlement of the English constitution in Church and State would be finally established. Some small remains of one of King John's hunting seats are still to be seen.

There is a story connected with this estate in later times. Charles I., wanting money, borrowed £20,000 from Sir Edward Hyde (afterwards the famous chancellor and author of the History of the Rebellion), and mortgaged the property to him. The royal exchequer being, and continuing to be, impoverished, Hyde fully reckoned upon the debt's never being paid off, and being made a peer in the next reign, he took his title from his expected estate. But the new king, Charles II., suddenly repaid Hyde his £20,000 and gave the

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<sup>1</sup> "Gentleman's Magazine," 1816, Pt. II., p. 455.

estate to George Monk, Duke of Albemarle: leaving Hyde with the shadow of Clarendon, but not the substance.

#### DOWNTON.

The last place on our tour to which I have to call your attention is Downton. There is here a most remarkable earthwork, in some respects wholly unlike any other. Earthworks are most frequently to be met with on the tops of high hills: but this is almost on a level with the river Avon: or, rather, it occupies ground that slopes upwards from the river. The general shape is that of the horseshoe, opening towards the river on the south side. Near the middle there is a mound, and three more mounds at the termination of one of the long ridges or banks. These ridges (one of them 250 yards long) are separated from one another by very deep gullies. The whole work covers a very large space: several hundred yards long and broad; and it is impossible to embrace the entire plan at one glance, owing to the number of trees. Looking attentively at this very curious place one is puzzled by the oddity of the situation and shape, supposing it to have been purposely made for a military fortress. It is hardly likely that engineers would have fixed upon a site so comparatively low, when there were so many elevated hills to choose from; though they might be tempted to use it if they should find it, as it were, ready-made, and all the digging and banking done by Nature. I think this was the case, *if, indeed, it was ever a military stronghold at all*. If you should see the place you would observe how gradually the outer bank sweeps downwards with a gentle curve: how it dies away, as it were, into the flat. No military engineer would ever finish off an earthwork in such a fashion as that. It was more probably done by the same geological agent that produced all those smoothly-formed curves and hollows, those basins and shelves (lynchets they are called) that are so frequently found along the sides of the chalk downs. It is my own opinion that Downton works were *originally* formed by the action of water. Remember that the whole of the present surface of our country, if stripped of its outer skin of grass, was once the muddy bottom of the ocean: that all our undulations of hill and dale were shaped by

the tides, eddies, currents, and whirlpools of that ancient sea. The beautifully-curved lines that give such graceful swells and dips to the downs were all produced by the action of water gradually retiring from higher to lower ground. If the Atlantic were dried up to-morrow, we should find a surface as various, as in the present surface of our *terra firma*. I do not think that the dykes and banks at Downton were originally made by the hands and spades of men : *though they may have been utilized, and altered, just as the lynchets have been.*<sup>1</sup>

This place is called the Moot, which is an old Saxon word for an assembly. We have still the name, in *Witena-gemot*, the meeting of wise men for the kingdom : the *shire-mote* for the county : the *folk-mote* for the hundred. In some places a town-hall is called the moot-hall. Now there is one part of this curious place, which certainly would do very well for oratorical purposes : especially for an assembly shaped like the French Chamber of Deputies, or a theatre, both of which are of the horseshoe form. There are six broad and long grass banks one behind another, and gradually rising one above another, which certainly look for all the world as if they had been made on purpose for people to sit upon, to listen to somebody standing on the level stage below, in front of them. That a speaker can be heard very well I am able to testify, having tried it. Visiting the place with some friends they took their seats on the top row, as far back as possible, whilst I stood, on the flat, as it were at the back of the "stage," and recited a few lines from some poet. They assured me that they heard every syllable quite distinctly.

It is now very difficult to trace the shape of this singular spot, it has been so much altered and disguised by trees and shrubs in transforming it into a beautiful pleasure-ground.

The Bishops of Winchester, as Lords of the Hundred and Manor

<sup>1</sup> A woodcut of the Moot, with description, will be found in Mr. G. T. Clark's paper ("The Earthworks of the Wiltshire Avon") in *Journal of Archæological Institute*, vol. xxxii., p. 305. Also in the late E. T. Stevens's "Jottings on the Moot Excursion," 1876, p. 31 (Bennett, Salisbury).

of Downton, used to hold their courts there, and probably at the Moot—though I am not able to produce evidence of the fact.

Places in the open air were undoubtedly used for gathering and speechifying, in Scotland, in Iceland, and to this day in the Isle of Man. In this part of England, in Wiltshire certainly, the sheriff of the county held his "Turn," as it was called, his court in the king's name, at some well-known point, marked by an oak tree or a big stone, in the open air.

Downton Moot may have been used for military purposes: but it can only be the merest guess-work and fancy that brings Chlorus, or Vespasian, or any other ancient Roman general to this or that camp. We have no such minute description of their movements, as to be able to identify them with nicety.

But about Downton there is a tradition which may, perhaps, commend itself to your acceptance, seeing it relates to a hero of your own county. The tradition is that it was a residence of Sir Bevis, of Southampton: perhaps used by him when he bravely defended the south coast to prevent Hampshire falling into the hands of the Danes. That there was such a hero there can be no doubt, because they still show his very sword at Arundel Castle! Not only is his very sword to be seen, but the man himself. His effigy at least, in stone, stands as a sentinel on one side of the town gate of Southampton, and his formidable antagonist, Ascapart, on the other. There is a hill called Bevis Mount at that town: and I have already mentioned the site of an earthwork near Conholt, called Bevis-bury. His achievements, with not a little poetical exaggeration, are duly recorded in a famous old romance, written in Norman French, printed in black letter, folio, with double columns, called "*Beuves de Hanton*": a story full of marvellous narrative of giants, dragons, and fair ladies: very amusing and exciting, no doubt, to our remote forefathers, sitting in their dreary castles by their winter firesides. Mr. Ellis, in his book called "*Metrical Romances*," gives an abridgment of your great champion's history, "with a liveliness which extracts amusement even out of the most rude and unpromising of our old tales of chivalry." So says Sir Walter Scott, who also, in his introduction to *Marmion*, mentions the hero himself. He

is speaking of the New Forest, anciently called "Ytene":—

"Ytene's oak—beneath whose shade  
Their theme the merry minstrels made  
Of Ascapart and Bevis bold"—

and so on.

Michael Drayton, also, in the first book of his poem called *Polyolbion*, devotes two or three pages of verses to the wonderful performances of Bevis: how nothing could resist that sword which slew serpents, lions, and tyrants by the dozen.

Shakspeare likewise alludes to the wonderful history. In the first act of *Henry VIII.* the Duke of Norfolk is describing the feats of arms done at the meeting of Henry and the French King at the Field of Cloth of Gold:—

"Such deeds  
They did perform, that former fabulous story  
Being now made possible enough,  
Got credit, and Bevis was believed."

The dimensions of Ascapart were, indeed, formidable. He was 30 feet long: and he must have been remarkable for a fine open forehead, for the space between his eye-brows was no less than 12 inches! If such was Ascapart, the conquered, what must Bevis, the conqueror, have been? and who would not like to have seen, between two such competitors, a backwording match at Hurstbourne?

My excuse for introducing this fabulous history must be, that

"A little nonsense now and then  
Is relished by the wisest men."

J. E. J.

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## Old Church Plate in Wilts.

By J. E. NIGHTINGALE, F.S.A.

**I**T is not intended, in the present paper, to give any general or detailed account of Wiltshire Church plate, for that would require a considerable amount of co-operation, but rather to draw attention to the subject, and to suggest the necessity of preserving what still remains of ancient Church plate in the county. Perhaps the most effectual way of doing this is by preparing carefully-tabulated lists of the sacred vessels and whatever other plate exists in each parish, together with such details of hall-marks, dimensions, inscriptions, and references in parish books, &c., as can be brought together. To make it permanent all modern plate should be included. When this is done, and the particulars printed, it will be found to be the best safeguard for their preservation. It is also desirable to notice any old pieces not in actual use; it frequently happens that when new plate is presented, as it often is on the restoration of a Church, the old pieces—which may not be very attractive—are put away, and, from changes of incumbency and other causes, they eventually disappear, nobody knowing how.

The most convenient machinery for accomplishing this is by utilising the existing subdivision of the diocese into rural deaneries, by which means a moderate and manageable number of parishes are supervised by each rural dean. An excellent beginning was made in 1880 by the Rev. C. R. Manning, Rural Dean of Redenhall, Norfolk, the results of which were printed in the ninth vol. of the Norfolk Archæological Society. A still more important work has lately been accomplished in the diocese of Carlisle; a complete volume has been published giving full details of all the existing pieces, and also bringing to notice another specimen of a pre-Reformation chalice, now in use at Old Hutton.

There are good reasons for believing that the county of Wilts is

still rich in the possession of fine examples of Church plate. Those specimens which have come under the notice of the writer, mostly within a short distance from Salisbury, have already produced two chalices of pre-Reformation times of unusual interest, namely, those of Berwick St. James and Wylve, also the fragments of a third at Codford St. Mary, besides an early paten belonging to the Church of St. Edmund, Salisbury. There are also to be found fine old examples of secular plate adapted to Church use, notably at Barford St. Martin, Teffont Ewyas, Fugglestone St. Peter, and St. Martin's, Salisbury.

Before describing any still existing specimens it will be as well to say a few words on the causes which have led to the almost entire destruction of mediæval plate, both sacred and secular, and more particularly to give some few historical notices relating to the form which the chalice has assumed at different epochs.

It is now very rare to find any examples at all of the goldsmith's craft even as early as the thirteenth century, a period so rich in English art. Few, indeed, are the chalices, patens, or other sacred vessels of the English Church, still existing of the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries; while of cups, goblets, or other vessels of domestic use scarcely an example is to be found which belongs to the earlier middle ages. If formed of the more precious metals they have been melted, or coined, or re-worked into more fashionable shapes. There was, of course, a special reason why England should suffer more than any other country in the loss of its Church plate during the troubled period of the sixteenth century. It is much to be regretted that Henry VIII., disposed, as he was, to patronise art in some of its forms, had not something of the spirit of a collector, and did not use the unrivalled opportunity which the dissolution of the monasteries afforded him to preserve at least some of the more beautiful of the vast quantity of shrines, monstrances, chalices, and other vessels for sacred or domestic use, which fell into his hands.

The causes which have led to the almost total disappearance of early English plate have been well summarised by a late writer in the *Quarterly Review*:—"The fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth

centuries were rich in plate; the next question is, what has become of it? You might as well ask what has become of the last winter's snow, for the answer is the same. Melted, not once, but over and over again; so that our shillings and sixpences may contain the very metal which glowed, richly gilt and beaming with enamels, on Becket's mitre, or his pastoral staff. Sooner or later the golden bowl and the silver beaker go the same way, their end is the crucible and the melting-pot; their form and fashion changes, while the red and white substance remains the same. In four successive centuries old English plate had as many arch-enemies. In the fifteenth century the Wars of the Roses caused many a noble piece to melt; in the sixteenth, Henry VIII., and the dissolution of monasteries, were even more fatal to gold and silver work; in the seventeenth the Great Rebellion and the Civil War again swept the sideboards and plate-closets of each side with equal impartiality; and, at the beginning of the eighteenth, the need of bullion, under which William III. laboured, brought to the melting-pot much of the old plate which still remained after the ravages it had suffered in the three preceding centuries. Taking all this into consideration the wonder is, not that so little English plate exists prior to the reign of Anne, but that any of it at all is left to give us some insight into the magnificence with which the halls and tables and sideboards of our ancestors were decked on great festive occasions."

From an early period there has been a peculiar interest taken in the holy cup or chalice. Mediæval legends delighted in the quest for the "Holy Graal." Throughout the Middle Ages the chalice, or rather, perhaps, the dish or shallow bowl from which Our Lord was said to have eaten the paschal lamb at the Last Supper, was a favorite subject of legendary romance. This holy graal,<sup>1</sup> the name

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<sup>1</sup> Bishop Thirlwall, in his "Letters," p. 216, says:—" *Saint Graal*, the origin of which from *Sang Royal* is refuted by the Provençal forms, is in the epic poems the dish out of which Christ partook of the Last Supper with his disciples. Nothing, I believe, is more certain than that the name has nothing to do with *sang* either *real* or *royal*. Indeed, if you only reflect for a moment on the wildness of a quest after a liquid, I think you will see that the etymology is out of the question. Littré gives the true one, '*sorte de vase, origine inconnue.*' There never has been any doubt that it was the name of a *vessel*. Did you not

given to the wonder-working vessel, was said to have been brought by Joseph of Arimathea to Britain, after it had received many drops of blood which issued from the still open wounds of Our Lord's body after death. It is closely connected with the Arthurian romance of the Round Table, and this conception of the holy graal spread rapidly into all Christian countries, especially amongst the Provençals. This legend is said to be as old as the eighth century, but most English writers maintain that the conception arose in the twelfth century, and that the details of the story which brought Joseph of Arimathea to Glastonbury, and its introduction into the romance of Arthur, is rather due to some master hand, probably Walter Mape, who was a canon of Salisbury, and some time parish priest of Westbury, near Bristol, and who seems to have conceived the vast design of steeping the Arthurian legend, and through it the whole imaginative literature of the age, in the doctrine of the Christian sacrifice.

The fashion of the chalice in primitive ages was probably of the most simple kind. In the early Middle ages—say before the eleventh century—the chalices appear for the most part to have been rather large two-handled bowls with a foot only; the holy sacrament was then administered to the congregation in both kinds, so there was no need of a stem or knop, as the chalice was not to be grasped, but was presented to the mouths of the recipients by the priest, who held it by the two handles. There were, however, two sorts of chalices used, those of ordinary size, for the personal use of the priest, called *minores*; others of larger dimensions, meant to contain

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know that it was brought from the Holy Land to Genoa, where it is still shown under the name of the '*sacro catino*,' and by persons not in the secret believed to be a single emerald, being in fact a piece of green glass?" Besides the holy cup of Genoa there are several others preserved in different parts of Europe, all claiming to be the identical cup used at the Last Supper; the most remarkable of these is *el santo calix*, now in the treasury of the Cathedral at Valencia, in Spain. This cup is of agate, mounted with gold chased in a pattern very much resembling the interlaced work found in early Scandinavian and Irish ornamentation; it is also enriched with gems, and has two handles. The period of the mounting is probably about the eighth or ninth century. In 1736 a volume was written by A. Sales to prove its authenticity and power of working miracles.

a considerable quantity of the eucharistic wine for the general communicants, were called *calices ministeriales*.

In the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie des Beaux-Arts* (vol. iii., p. 4) an interesting engraving is given of the chalice of St. Ludger, Bishop of Munster, at the end of the eighth century. This vessel is without handles, and is somewhat curious as it bears a considerable resemblance to the early chalice of Berwick St. James, Wilts; the form of the bowl, however, varies, being much less shallow than the English example. This illustration was originally given by Dom Martenne in the *Voyage littéraire de deux Bénédictins*.

This form of chalice with double handles is found in various pictorial illustrations of the Anglo-Saxon period. A remarkable example of such, known as the Ardagh Cup, was discovered a few years since in Ireland, from whence so many beautiful instances of early Christian art have come. The cup has two handles, and is ornamented with an infinite variety of filigree patterns on plates of gold, being Celtic work of the finest kind and period, portions of which are enamelled. The date is believed to be the end of the ninth or the early part of the tenth century.

In the coffin of St. Cuthbert, who died in 688, was deposited, with other personal relics, "a chalice of the purest gold supporting an onyx stone made hollow by the most beautiful workmanship." This was found intact when the coffin was opened at Durham in 1104, but had disappeared during the "visitation" in the time of Henry VIII., as was discovered when the coffin was opened again in 1827. (See Raine's St. Cuthbert.)

Priests were very usually buried with a chalice and paten; not consecrated, and often of some inferior metal or wax. Occasionally, also, in vestments; either entirely vested, or with a surplice and stole. Bishops were clothed for burial with more solemnity; as, for example, the Bishops of Durham, in the "Auncyente tyme, the accustomed burying of the bushopes was to be buried as he was accustomed to saye masse, with his albe and stole and phannell and his vestment, with a myter on his head and his crutch [crozier] with him, and so laied in his coffine, with a little challice of sylver, other mettell, or wax; which wax challice was gilted verie fynly

about the edge and knoppe in the myddes of the shanke of the chalice, and aboute the edge of the patten or cover and the foot of it also was gilted: which chalice was sett or laide upon his breast in the coffine with hime, and the cover thereof nayled downe to yt." *Rites of the Church of Durham*, p. 49.

During the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the form of the chalice seems to have been short and low, and the bowl wide and shallow; the stem in the middle swelled into a bulb, called the knop, the foot or base being circular. One of the most remarkable examples of this period is that long preserved at Rheims, and known as the "calice de St. Remi." This incomparable example of the skill of the workers in the twelfth century is of gold encrusted with enamelled ornaments, gems, pearls, and filigree work of the most curious character. It measures in height  $6\frac{1}{2}$  in., and the diameter of the cup is very nearly 6 in.<sup>1</sup> The general form of the chalice at this period will be seen in the remarkable Wiltshire example of Berwick St. James, an illustration of which will be found further on. It is difficult to fix any approximate date for this English chalice, it is possibly of the thirteenth century, but there is nothing to show that it is not as early as the twelfth. The paten is of much later date, probably of the fifteenth.

In the treasuries of many of our English Cathedrals are preserved small chalices, found in the tombs of ecclesiastics, more or less perfect, usually of tin or pewter, but sometimes of more precious metal. The examples now kept in the treasury of the Cathedral at Salisbury are believed to have been removed from some of the early tombs, but from the hopeless confusion into which nearly all places of sepulture of the early bishops have fallen since the senseless removal of the original tombs by Wyatt in the last century, any identification is now almost impossible. There is some evidence, or tradition at least, that the interesting silver-gilt chalice and paten, together with an episcopal ring and the fragments of a pastoral staff in wood, came out of a tomb supposed to be that of Bishop

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<sup>1</sup> See "Archæological Journal," vol. iii., where is an excellent woodcut of this chalice, together with a valuable paper by the late Albert Way on "Vessels and Appliances of Sacred Use."

Longespee, who deceased in 1297. This was found when removing the pavement of the Lady Chapel in 1789. At any rate the form of the chalice would agree very well with that which obtained in the thirteenth century, the bowl being wide and shallow, the stem and foot circular. This vessel is decorated with foliated chasing, with an ornamental knop, and is in fairly good condition.

In the fourteenth century chalices were made taller, the bowls assumed a more conical form, being narrow at the bottom, and having the sides sloping straight outwards; it would, however, be difficult to quote any existing English example of this period. The round form of the base of the chalice had now given way to the hexagonal, to prevent its rolling when placed on its side to drain—a custom which held its ground for a long way into the Reformation.

In the fifteenth century they became broader at the base, and towards the end of that century and beginning of the sixteenth the bowls became almost hemispherical in form. We have, happily, a very fine and well-preserved example of the latter part of this period in the Wylke chalice. There are now about a dozen specimens known of English chalices, ranging from the middle of the fifteenth century to the first quarter of the sixteenth, for the most part still in use in the parish Churches to which they originally belonged; and this is all, as far as we know, that is left of the numberless beautiful objects of Church plate that existed all over England at the time of the dissolution of the monasteries, and, to a smaller extent, for some years later.

The necessary adjunct of the chalice, the paten—a small silver plate, slightly sunk in the middle, and frequently ornamented in the centre with some sacred device in engraving or enamel—is more often found. A good example is preserved in the parish of St. Edmund's, Salisbury. This paten bears the hall-mark of the year 1533-4, it was, therefore, made just on the eve of the Reformation. It is not likely that much new Church plate was afterwards manufactured during the remaining years of Henry VIII.

Some half-dozen cups made in the time of Edward VI. are still in existence. The chalice and paten belonging to the Church of Hunstanton, having the date-letter of 1551, indicate the great

change that had already taken place; the form of the bowl is slightly bell-shaped, the central boss of the stem of the earlier examples is replaced by a small collar, and the general appearance is much more like the heavy seventeenth century forms than the later and well-known regulation shape of Queen Elizabeth's time. The size, too, is large and adapted to the use of the congregation, as, after 1547 the communion in both kinds was administered according to the practice of the early Church.

There is abundant evidence to show that the value of old parish Church plate was very great in the reign of Edward VI., notwithstanding the wholesale spoliation by his father. It was not until the last year of Edward's reign that the confiscation of parish Church plate was decided upon. In 1553 a commission was issued for the seizure of all goods not absolutely needed for parish Churches, allowing in every Church one, and in larger Churches two chalices to be left for the administration of the holy communion. Returns were made under this commission of all Church goods, plate, jewels, bells, and ornaments yet remaining. These inventories relating to the Churches of Wiltshire unfortunately no longer exist, but a list of the parishes in which a niggardly single "cup" and the bells were left is to be found in the twelfth volume of the *Wiltshire Archaeological Magazine*. The Commissioners were Sir Anthony Hungerford (of Black Burton, Oxon, Kt.), William Sherrington, Kt., and William Wroughton, Kt.

Such chalices as were left in the Churches were, necessarily, of the old form, for it is not probable that any further change would take place during the time of Queen Mary. In the reign of Elizabeth, however, another sweeping change occurred. The evil estimation in which the reformers of Elizabeth's time held the pre-Reformation communion plate caused them to entertain scruples and prejudices against its eucharistic use. Accordingly we find that Parker and Grindall, with possibly some other Anglican prelates, about 1567, issuing certain articles and injunctions requiring the disuse of "massing chalices," and the substitution of "decent communion cups." The churchwardens' accounts of this period contain frequent entries of the sale of the one class of chalice, and



the purchase of the other. That some of the so-called "massing chalices" escaped was probably owing to the bishop in some localities holding less strong reforming views, and dealing more gently with the "Injunctions." The beautiful early chalice and paten belonging to the outlying parish of Nettlecombe, Somerset, were probably preserved to our own time by the ingenious manœuvres of the churchwardens in 1549, who legally transferred them temporarily to "Master John Trevylyan Esqueyer" of the same parish, until the evil days had passed.

From about the year 1562 a great change took place in the form and style of ornament of the chalice; for the next twenty years their uniformity of shape and pattern was so universal that they could hardly have been the result of the taste or caprice of silversmiths or churchwardens. They are distributed pretty well all over England, several examples being found in the neighbourhood of Salisbury. It has not been ascertained by what authority this change was made. One reason, probably, was a desire to remove all traces of the former ceremonies of the mass. The chalice still consists of its cup, the stem with a small knop, and the foot. The stem, though altered in form and character, still swells into a small knop, or the rudiments of one, the foot being invariably round instead of indented. The form of the cup, however, is altogether changed, and instead of being a shallow wide bowl, it is elongated into the form of a truncated cone, slightly bell-shaped. The form of the paten, too, is much changed, the sunk part of the plate is considerably deepened, the brim narrowed, with a fixed rim or edge, by which it is made, when inverted, to fit on the cup as a cover, while a foot is added to it, which serves also as a handle to the cover. A paten of the older shape is sometimes found at this period, and it may be doubted whether the cover was in all cases used as a paten for the general communicants, as the quantity of sacramental bread it would contain must necessarily be very small; unless, indeed, the bread at that time took the form of the wafer, which is probable. A good typical example of the Elizabethan chalice with its paten-cover is found at Dinton, the engraving of which will make any description more easily understood.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century this rigid rule as to the shape and form of the chalice began to be relaxed ; its general features were continued, but in a less artistic form ; they began to degenerate into the heavy cumbrous shape which became almost universal during the whole of the seventeenth century. The foliated strap-work ornament of the Elizabethan period in a great measure disappears, and is sometimes replaced by the coat of arms of the donor. For the next hundred years there was no attempt made to give an ecclesiastical character to such new plate as was required.

Amongst the first to call attention to the still existing specimens of ancient Church plate, and to publish careful drawings of the then known examples, were the authors of the "Specimens of Ancient Church Plate," as long ago as 1845. One of the most active editors was an old friend and first Secretary of the Wilts Archæological Society, the Rev. W. C. Lukis. A somewhat curious example is there figured of a small chalice then belonging to the late Rev. E. J. Phipps, of Devizes, and lately in his possession. It is made up of three parts (bowl, stem and knop, and base), which screw together. This piece has no hall-mark ; there is no reason to suppose that it ever belonged to any Church in Wilts, nor is it certain that it is of English make.

Thanks to the earlier researches of Mr. Octavius Morgan, and the later amplified lists given by Mr. Cripps, in his excellent work on "Old English Plate," we are now enabled, not only to fix the real date, but in many instances the actual maker, of existing specimens, from the hall-marks which are found, with few exceptions, on all English plate, both ancient and modern. It may be as well here to mention what marks are to be looked for, and generally found.

They usually consist of four :—

I.—*The leopard's head.* This royal symbol has been in use certainly as early as 1300. The so-called crowned leopard's head was probably an early sign of the king's mark. It is, however, not a leopard at all ; the heraldic "leopard" of the royal arms of England means a lion passant guardant. The lion's head crowned will be found generally on all pieces.

II.—*The maker's mark.* Until about the middle of the sixteenth century the worker's or maker's mark consisted of a certain symbol or trade sign. Most shops in early times had a sign by which they were known. This custom of hanging a sign-board has hardly yet died out. Afterwards, the two initial letters of the maker were used instead of the previous emblem, and so continues to the present time.

III.—*The annual letter.* This is the important mark which indicates the year in which the piece was made and assayed by the goldsmiths' guild. A cycle of twenty years ran through twenty letters of the alphabet, beginning with the letter A. At the commencement of each cycle the form of the letter was changed; varieties of the Lombardic letters were succeeded by Black-letter, Roman letter, Court hand, &c. The changes were rung on these forms so as to give a sufficient distinction of shape in each cycle. It requires considerable care in determining the correct date letter of a piece, and it is necessary to refer to the printed lists, as the same letters are often repeated in different cycles with very slight alterations in their form. This applies especially to the earlier dates. The tables now published commence with the letter A of Henry VI.—1438-9. Any existing examples of the first two or three cycles are excessively rare; at present only one is known of the first, namely, that of the Lombardic *h* found on a spoon given by Henry VI. to Sir Ralph Pudsey. It should be mentioned that the date-letter is changed, not on the first of January in each year, but on St. Dunstan's Day, some time in the month of May.

IV.—*The lion passant guardant.* This will be found on all pieces since about 1545.

There are small variations in these marks which make it necessary to consult the printed lists in order to determine their exact significance. It often happens that, from indistinct marking or too much cleaning, the date-letter is uncertain, or not to be found. In this case the form and fashion of the piece will help to determine the approximate date. The above remarks refer to the London hall-marks. There are a few provincial ones, such as Norwich, Exeter,

&c., but examples of these are not likely to be found amongst specimens of Wiltshire Church plate.

By a statute of the 2nd Henry VI., A.D. 1423, it was ordained that "no goldsmith or jeweller should sell any article of silver unless it was as fine as sterling, nor before it be touched with the Touch, and marked with the workman's mark or sign, under a penalty of forfeiting double the value. The cities of York, Newcastle, Lincoln, Norwich, Bristow, *Salisbury*, and Coventry, were to have divers Touches, and no goldsmith to sell any gold or silver wares but as it is ordained in this City of London." Some of these provincial cities, at a later period, had a special "touch" or assay mark of their own, but there is nothing to show that Salisbury ever made use of the privilege. In the corporation accounts of that period no entries are found which throw any light on the matter.

The following examples of old Church plate have come under the writer's notice; it will be seen that they are confined almost entirely to the neighbourhood of Salisbury. It is to be hoped that a more complete and systematic account of all the Church plate in the diocese will ultimately be obtained, so that what is still left of ancient plate in each parish may be kept intact. As Mr. Cripps well says, "The Church plate of the last century was well suited to the Churches of the period; fortunately, older Churches in most cases possessed some better plate, acquired at an earlier period, and well would it be if this were still so, and fewer Elizabethan communion cups were seen in the windows of the modern silversmith. Many of them are made of the very same silver as the more ancient chalices which they replaced, vessels that had, perchance, belonged to their parishes from time immemorial. It is to be feared that they are constantly parted with for the mere price of the silver, by those who are in ignorance, or are regardless, of the curious historical associations which surround these ancient and interesting relics."

**BARFORD ST. MARTIN.** The vessel representing the old Chalice in this parish is a very fine piece of old English plate of the time of James I. It was not originally intended as a chalice, but is one of the few remaining decorative examples of that period, consisting of

a tall silver-gilt cup, with straight sides, supported by a long stem, and surmounted by a cover terminating in a triangular pyramid. The whole is of rich repoussé work; the belts round the cup consist of flowers in rather high relief, other parts being richly chased. The height, including the tall pointed cover, is some 14in. The hall-marks consist of:—the leopard's head crowned; the lion passant; the date-mark (a Lombardic O with external cusps) indicating the year 1611; the maker's mark (a capital letter W surmounted by the letter F enclosed within a shield). This cup is very well preserved; no record exists as to how or when it came to the parish, the churchwardens' accounts being missing. At the bottom is found a slightly-scratched inscription of the name of Elizabeth Marellion.

The Flagon is of silver, of the heavy solid form of the early part of the last century. The maker's mark alone is found, and this several times repeated. It consists of an anchor flanked with the letters R and O. Mr. Cripps states that it is the mark of Philip Rollos, Jun., a London silversmith who commenced business in 1705; but few of his examples are found.

**BERWICK ST. JAMES.** A silver Chalice of the form which was in use during the thirteenth century, and also for some years before and after. With the exception of the smaller chalices of this period found in the tombs of ecclesiastics, this is, perhaps, a solitary instance of the earlier form of vessel being retained in use in an English parish Church. The parish of Berwick lies in a somewhat unfrequented valley on the borders of Salisbury Plain. Owing perhaps to this, and to there being no decoration or inscription on the chalice to clash with the prevalent religious feeling at the time of the Reformation, it probably owes its escape from the general change of form in the sacred vessels which obtained during the reign of Elizabeth. The only mark of any kind found on the chalice is a roughly-incised cross on the foot, as will be seen in the engraving. This was probably added in later mediæval times, when it became a general custom to mark the front of the chalice by a cross of some kind on the foot, a good example of which will be found on the Wylve chalice; this practice has never died out. The dimensions

of the chalice are these:—height,  $5\frac{7}{8}$ in.; the diameter of the lip of the bowl and of the foot are the same,  $4\frac{7}{8}$ in. The entry of “goods to be safelie kept” relating to this parish, by the Commissioners of Edward VI., in 1533, is as follows:—

	A Chalice or Cuppe	Bells	In plate to the Kings use
Barwicke S. Jacobie	xj	iiij	iiij

The silver Paten, an illustration of which is given together with the chalice, is perfectly plain with the exception of the sacred monogram engraved in its centre. From the form of the letters it would appear to have been made some time in the fifteenth century. The diameter of the paten is 6in.<sup>1</sup>

There is also belonging to the parish a massive Flagon and cover of the tall tankard form, with the hall-mark of 1739; the maker's name G.S.; bearing the following inscription: *Given to the Parish Church of Barwick St. James, 1739.*

**BISHOPSTONE.** Here is a fine service of Church plate of silver gilt, of foreign manufacture, given by Dr. John Earles, many years rector of the parish, and afterwards Bishop of Salisbury. It consists of two Chalices, two Patens, and a Dish. The chalices, measuring  $9\frac{1}{4}$ in. in height, are of a decidedly foreign type, in vogue during the seventeenth century, bearing no resemblance at all to English chalices of that period. The bowl is plain, with an elaborate stem and knop; the base is broad, and ornamented with repoussé work of renaissance character in compartments; the old subject of the Crucifixion, on the base, is here replaced by a Maltese cross. The dish and two patens, measuring respectively 9in. and  $6\frac{1}{4}$ in. in

<sup>1</sup> The chalice and paten are now deposited in the British Museum. This was not done without full consideration by the vicar, churchwardens, and parishioners, also with the concurrence of the Bishop. The paten, owing to the original thinness of the metal, and from long use, had become no longer fit for decent usage; it had several fractures, and had already been rivetted. The chalice also required some slight repair. Under these exceptional circumstances, and for other reasons, it was thought desirable that these objects should find a final resting-place in the British Museum; and they were accordingly given by the parish to the national collection. A handsome and appropriate chalice and paten were afterwards presented to the parish by the generosity of A. W. Franks, Esq., F.S.A.



CHALICE AND A PATEN, BERWICK S. JAMES





diameter, are perfectly plain, and have each an incised Maltese cross. The marks are foreign, and have not yet been identified. Mr. Cripps states that they are neither French nor Dutch.

Dr. John Earles was appointed chaplain to Philip, Earl of Pembroke, and became Rector of Bishopstone, which living he held from 1639 to 1662. On the fall of the monarchy he retired to Antwerp. In 1647 he was with the Prince of Wales as his chaplain; in June of that year he officiated in the English Ambassador's Chapel at Paris, at the marriage of Evelyn, the writer of the "Diary," to a daughter of Sir R. Brown. Soon after the Restoration he became Bishop of Salisbury, and died in 1665. Some allusion to this gift to the parish, which seems to have been made after Dr. Earles became Bishop of Salisbury, are found in a note attached to a copy of the will of Dorothy Gorges, a benefactress to the parish in 1642, and still preserved in the parish register; by which we learn that before the bishop's gift the parish possessed an ancient chalice and paten, of which nothing now is known. This entry is dated 1685, and says that, amongst other benefactions, the bishop "gave three gilted patens or plates for the communion; and two communion gilted cups to the parish for the communion; these with an ancient communion cup and paten are in the churchwarden's keeping. The said Lady Gorges gave a fair velvet communion table cover and a fair velvet cushion and pulpit cloth to the parish, which are now in use this 1st day of May, 1685, in the clerk's keeping."

BRITFORD. A complete set presented in 1750, consisting of a Chalice, two large Flagons, 11in. in height, two Dishes, 10½in. in diameter, with shaped edges, all inscribed with the sacred monogram, also the following inscription: "*The gift of Jacob Bouverie Viscount Folkestone to the Church of Britford in Wilts for the use of the Sacrament in the year 1750.*" Maker's marks, the letters I.W., also E.W. under the Prince of Wales' feathers. The family of Wakelin were goldsmiths to the Prince of Wales. The date-mark is 1749-50.

BURCOMBE. Silver Chalice and Paten. The chalice is of large

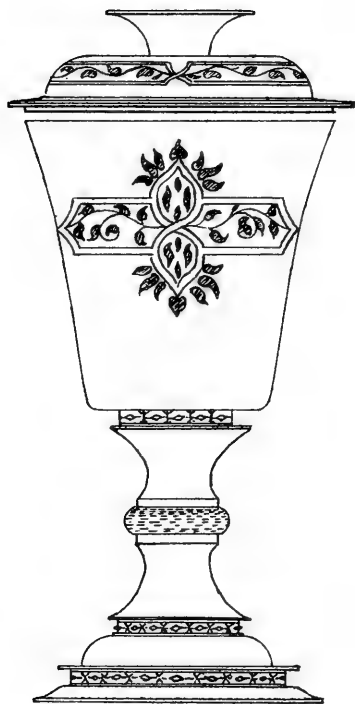
size, and perfectly plain, of the usual seventeenth century type. The hall-marks are: the small Italian letter *m*, indicating the year 1629; lion passant; leopard's head crowned; and the maker's mark, a fleur-de-lys surmounted by the letters R.A., all within a shield. The form of the chalice corresponds with this date, being heavier and coarser than the Elizabethan type. The chalice bears the following inscription: "*Donum Dei et Deo reditum Capellæ de Burcombe p. Jo. Bowles,*" with his coat of arms, *The sun in splendour in chief argent, in base a crescent or.* The paten does not form a cover that fits, it is larger and has a more prominent foot than those of Elizabeth's time. There is no record of this member of the Bowles family in the parish registers, the earliest entry being 1682.<sup>1</sup>

CODFORD ST. MARY. The Chalice now in use has some remains of a fine pre-Reformation vessel. The old parts, in silver-gilt, consist of a portion of the stem, with some open work, and the knob ornamented with projecting lions' heads. A portion of the original hexagonal base also remains. This contains a representation of the Crucifixion. In its original state it was probably similar to the one still preserved in the adjoining parish of Wylve; the later additions to the old work are of a very incongruous character.

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<sup>1</sup> A curious circumstance connected with the name and arms of the Bowles's of Burcombe, in the seventeenth century, came under the notice of the writer not long ago, and may be a necessary warning for collectors to use extreme caution in buying old family plate—or indeed old plate of any kind. A descendant of the family, living in Gloucestershire, was an earnest collector of any stray relics or objects belonging to his ancestors. Amongst other family waifs sold after his death were six curious spoons of old Dutch make, inscribed: "Sir Rowland Bowles de Burcombe Wilts, 1623" with his proper arms of the sun in splendour and a crescent. They were sent by a dealer to Salisbury, as the most likely neighbourhood to be appreciated, and where some of the family still exist. There was not wanting an element of interest and even a spice of romance in the matter, for this Rowland Bowles, as a young man, had served gallantly under Sir Thomas Arundell at the siege of Gran, in Hungary, against the Turks, for which services the Lords Arundell of Wardour still hold the title of Counts of the Holy Roman Empire. He was afterwards sent on a mission to Holland. In fact the whole story dovetailed so well together that it seems almost a pity to demolish it, but on putting the hall-marks to the crucial test of Mr. Cripps' list, it was found that one of these inscribed spoons of 1623 bore the Amsterdam year-mark of 1819, thus proving the whole thing to have been a forgery.





CHALICE AND PATEN-COVER. DINTON. WILTS

1576.

DINTON. Chalice and paten-cover. A very good example, though somewhat worn, of the Elizabethan form of chalice with its paten-cover. An engraving is given of this specimen, which illustrates the style which prevailed, and of which so many examples still exist, of the vessels of uniform shape and decoration made during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. The same ornamental band of scroll foliage within two narrow fillets, which interlace or cross each other, is found on all these chalices. This style of decoration, but more roughly executed, is frequently found on the larger and more cumbersome vessels of the succeeding century. The chalice with its cover measures  $6\frac{1}{4}$  in. in height. The maker's mark, the sun in splendour within a plain circle. The date-mark, 1576.

Flagon, large, with handle and cover, a broad base tapering upwards, measuring 13 in. including cover. The date-mark is 1730, and the maker's mark I.S., under a crown. It is inscribed: "*In Honorem Dei Opt. Max. Patris Filii et Spiritus Sancti et in usum Ecclesiæ parochialis de Dinton in com. Wilt. A. D. 173 $\frac{1}{6}$* "

FUGGLESTONE ST. PETER *cum* BEMERTON. The Chalice, without a cover, is a well-preserved example of the ordinary Elizabethan type, with the usual engraved belt and foliated scrolls. Height,  $5\frac{1}{4}$  in. The date-mark is the Roman capital D., indicating the year 1581. The maker's mark is apparently E.L. within a shield.

There is a special interest connected with the chalice of this parish, as it was the one used by the saintly George Herbert, who was made rector in 1630, on the promotion of the previous incumbent, Dr. Curl, to the bishopric of Bath and Wells. The only other relic of George Herbert in the old Church at Bemerton is the single bell in the bell-cot. Izaac Walton, in his "Life," mentions the circumstance of his remaining a long time at prayer in the Church after he had gone through the customary ceremony of tolling the bell at his induction. This bell is of pre-Reformation date, sometimes called an "Alphabet Bell," from the fact of having certain black-letter capitals irregularly placed instead of an inscription. These alphabet bells have been said to have some special significance of their own, but their origin is, perhaps, rather due to the bell-founder using up his type

indiscriminately, as a ready way of decoration. The collected writings of George Herbert, consisting of his sacred poems, &c., were printed soon after his death, under the title of "The Temple." Many of these refer to different parts of a Church. To this was added a somewhat similar work, called the "Synagogue or Shadow of the Temple," written by Christopher Harvey, a devout admirer of Herbert's. The usage and reverence of nearly two centuries and a half have associated this work with "The Temple," in which Harvey sought to imitate with distant footsteps the spirit of his master's writings. Amongst his descriptions of things connected with the Church, the following relates to the holy vessels:—

" COMMUNION-PLATE.

"Never was gold or silver gracèd thus  
 Before :  
 To bring this Body and this Blood to us  
 Is more  
 Then to crown kings,  
 Or be made rings  
 For star-like diamonds to glitter in.

"No precious stones are meet to match this bread  
 Divine ;  
 Spirits of pearls dissolvèd would but dead  
 This wine :  
 This heav'nly food  
 Is too—too good  
 To be compar'd to any earthly thing.

"For such inestimable treasure can  
 There be  
 Vessels too costly made by any man ?  
 Sure he  
 That knows the meat  
 So good to eat  
 Would wish to see it richly servèd in.

“Although 'tis true that sanctitie's not ty'd  
     To state  
 Yet sure Religion should not be envy'd  
     The fate  
     Of meaner worth,  
     To be set forth  
 As best becomes the service of a king.

\* \* \* \* \*

“If I might wish, then, I would have this bread,  
     This wine,  
 Vessel'd in what the sun might blush to shed  
     His shine  
     When he should see;  
     But till that be,  
 I'll rest contented with it as it is.”

Besides the chalice, the parish Church of Fugglestone possesses a very fine Elizabethan Tankard, now in use there as a Flagon. It measures 7½ in. in height. The date-mark gives the year 1589. The maker's mark is I.M. with pellets above and below, within a shield. This vessel is of silver and parcel-gilt, the form is cylindrical, but tapering upwards; it is engraved with broad interlaced vertical floriated bands on the drum, and encircled with two raised ornamental belts. The dome-shaped cover is repoussé with lions' heads and fruits, surmounted by a baluster-shaped knop. The broad circular base is also ornamented with lions' heads, fruits, and foliage. The purchase is a winged mermaid holding a cornucopia. The handle is ornamented with an engraved foliated scroll pattern, similar to that found on nearly all the Elizabethan chalices of the latter half of the sixteenth century. It bears the following inscription: “*The Gift of John Hawes, Rector of this Parish, 5th April, 1776.*” The Rev. John Hawes was rector from 1759 to 1788. He was buried in Bemerton Church, where is a monument to his memory.

LITTLE LANGFORD. The communion plate now in use is modern, but there is still preserved at the Rectory the old chalice, one of the

heavy shapes found in the seventeenth century, roughly made and repaired. It is perfectly plain, with a broadish flat base. It measures 6in. in height, and has no inscription beyond the hall-marks, which consist of the black-letter capitals either **C.** or **D.**, 1660 or 1662, the maker's mark being H.N., under which is a bird with a branch in its beak, all within a shield. It is not easy to account for so many of these heavy seventeenth century chalices, the Elizabethan ones of a hundred years or less earlier could hardly have been worn out, for those still existing are generally in good condition, and as a rule the sizes do not vary very much.

MADDINGTON. A complete and massive service, consisting of a Flagon and cover, measuring 11in.; a Chalice and cover, 9in. without the cover; and a large Paten with foot. There are no regular hall-marks, but the maker's mark is stamped on each piece; this consists of the plain letter S. surmounted by a crown and enclosed within a shield. The bowl of the chalice has straight sides, the foot is hexagonal with pointed angles, the knop quite plain. The general effect is rather un-English. On each piece is graven an elaborate coat of arms of the Fox family, and the crest on foot of chalice, *Ermine, on a chevron azure, three foxes' head, erased or, and on a canton of the second, a fleur-de-lys of the third.* Crest, *On a chapeau azure, turned up ermine, a fox sitting or.* There can be little doubt that this service was given to the parish by Sir Stephen Fox, who held the manor of Maddington, and charged this estate with a certain annual payment towards the maintenance of his alms-houses at Farley. Fox was born in 1627, and died in 1716. The above (additional) arms were granted to Stephen Fox in 1658, so that it can safely be assumed that the date of the plate is some time in the second half of the seventeenth century. This custom of covering sacramental plate with the arms of the donor has now, happily, died out.

NETHERHAMPTON. The chalice and paten are modern, but there is still kept in the parish a large tall pewter Flagon, with cover inscribed; "*Elizabeth Vdall widdowe Deceased the 20 daye of July 1634 and Gaue this flagon to the Church at Netherhampton.*"



**SOUTH NEWTON.** The communion plate at present in use was presented to the parish when the Church was restored a few years ago. There is, however, preserved at the Vicarage the old Elizabethan Chalice. This has no cover and is ornamented with the usual strap-work decoration of the period. The date-mark is 1576.

**SALISBURY CATHEDRAL.** In the treasury are preserved, as in some other English Cathedrals, several small chalices and patens, generally of pewter or some other base metal, that have been found at different times in the graves of ecclesiastics. The most important of these is a Chalice and Paten, silver-gilt, of the form prevailing in the thirteenth century. The height of the chalice is  $4\frac{5}{8}$  in., the bowl flat, the knop vertically ribbed, the round foot ornamented with bold leafage radiating from the stem. The paten is  $4\frac{1}{4}$  in. in diameter, the sunk portion is cusped and has a circular medallion in the centre, engraved with a hand giving benediction, the two fore-fingers being raised. A portion of the foot of the chalice is gone, as well as some parts of the rim of the paten. Some pieces of metal have also been added to strengthen the stem. With these exceptions both are well preserved, and they certainly seem to have been made for use.

The communion plate now in use is all of a later period than the Reformation. The earliest piece is a silver-gilt Flagon with cover and handles, measuring 13 in. in height, without any ornament. The date-mark is the Lombardic capital letter I., indicating the year 1606. On the bulb are engraved the arms of the See and *Ecc̄ssa Sar̄m*. On the domed cover are the initials of the donor, I.L., together with his coat of arms *Gules, a jesse erm. between two wolves passant argent*. These no doubt refer to John Lowe, Esq., who, with Lawrence Hyde, was counsel for the Church, and appointed one of the quorum in the charter of James I., 1612 (*vide* Hatcher's "Sarum," Appendix, p. 784). The form of this early flagon is globular with high neck and broad bell-shaped foot, somewhat in style of the earlier cruets, and not adapted to contain much wine. Mr. Cripps, in his "Old English Plate," gives an illustration of a good example belonging to Cirencester of the date 1576, and

says that this shape prevailed until about 1615, after which time the usual tankard pattern comes in, which has ever since been used, and is so familiar.

Besides the smaller flagon there are two larger ones in the Cathedral of the new tankard form. These are somewhat remarkable, as the date-mark is 1610, only four years later than the earlier example, and eight years earlier than any specimen of this shape known to Mr. Cripps. It must be presumed that the necessity for vessels that would contain a larger quantity of wine was the reason for their being made. These two massive silver-gilt flagons with fixed covers and handles, are of the tall tankard shape which prevailed down to a late period. They measure 14in. in height. The date-mark is a well-defined Lombardic capital N., giving the year 1610. The maker's mark is S.O. Upon each is engraved the arms of the See, under which is an inscription stating that they were given by John Barnston, Prebendary of Bishopstone, with his arms, *Sable, fesse dancettée erm. between six crosses crosslet fitchée or.* John Barnston was of Brasenose College, Oxford, and the founder of a Hebrew Lecture there. He was made Prebendary of Bishopstone in 1600, Canon Residentiary in 1634, and died 1645.

A pair of large Chalices with paten-covers of silver-gilt, height 8 $\frac{3}{8}$ in., with covers, 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ in.; of rather heavy form, with engraved bands of Elizabethan strap-work. There are no hall-marks of any kind, the date is apparently very early in the seventeenth century. The stems and bases of these chalices have some indications of having been renewed at an early period. Canon Rich Jones, in his "Chapters of Cathedral History," alludes to a charge in the Cathedral accounts in 1666 for "altering the old communion plate into a chalice like the former."

A pair of large-footed Patens, 9in. in diameter, with the date-mark apparently of 1662, and the maker's mark a shaped cup. The arms of the See are engraved in the centre. On the foot is inscribed "*Ex dono Jacobi Hyde.*" This was probably James Hyde, M.D., Principal of Magdalen Hall, Oxford. He was baptized in Salisbury Cathedral in 1617, and was the youngest son of Sir Laurence Hyde.

A large plain Alms Dish, measuring 20 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diameter. The

date-mark is 1672, and the maker's mark, T.L. The arms of the See are engraved in the centre of the dish, also on the rim are inscribed "*Cum Substantia Honora Dominum*, together with the sacred monogram, crowns of thorns, &c. At the back is the following: "*It weighs 80½ ounces, whereof 20l. was the gift of Dr. Selleck Prebendary, A.D. 1672, the rest was an old basin of ye Church.*" John Sellick was appointed to the Prebend of Ruscomb in 1660.

SALISBURY, ST. EDMUND'S. Here is preserved a Paten of pre-Reformation date in good condition, of rather massive silver, and strongly gilt, measuring 6in. in diameter. It is nearly covered with engraving, consisting of a central medallion representing the head of Our Lord with a cruciform nimbus having trefoil terminations, under which are discovered portions of the crown of thorns. The beard is square, and not bifurcated. From this medallion issue rays extending towards the border. The inscription on the rim is as follows, in black letter: "*+ Benedicamus + Patrem + et + filium + cum + sancto*" (*'sic*). The three hall-marks consist of the Lombardic capital Q., with internal cusps, giving the date 1533; the leopard's head crowned; and the maker's mark, T.W., within a shield. The engraving is not very delicate. The imperfect inscription and the change in form of the first capital letter B. from black letter to Roman, all indicate a decline in the art. It is probably one of the last of the pre-Reformation pieces. In the following year Cardinal Campeggio, Bishop of Salisbury, was deprived of his See. As regards the maker's mark, Mr. Cripps says that it is one of the most ancient marks giving initials—symbols seem to have been more in fashion in those days when few could read.

There is also at St. Edmund's an Alms Dish, plain and massive. The date-mark is 1734; the maker's mark a cup surmounted by the letters G.S. within a shield. These are the initials of Gabriel Sleath. In the centre of the dish is the following inscription: "*In Commemoration of Mr. Richard Naish a Purvey<sup>r</sup> of His Maj<sup>ty</sup>s Navy who was born in this Parish but died at Deptford in Kent feby 9 1732, and lyes buried in the Church yard there. His still mournful Relict*"

*Edith Naish gave this for the use of this parish. 1734. St. Edmunds Sarum."*

The present plate, consisting of two chalices with patens, and two flagons, was "re-modelled" in 1867, as appears by an inscription on the new vessels. The dates of the earlier pieces are very sensibly given by way of memento, and are duly inscribed on the modern substitutes. The dates on the early chalices were 1687, on the patens, *The gift of Mrs. Abigail Mercer*, 1685, and on the flagons, 1703. We are thus enabled to guess pretty accurately what was the fashion of the old plate.

SALISBURY, ST. MARTIN'S. The plate belonging to this parish, though not of very early date, is of considerable interest. The earliest is a set consisting of a Chalice and cover with a Paten, bearing no hall-marks, but of a somewhat later type than the usual Elizabethan examples. The chalice measures 7in., and has a band of engraved foliage round the bowl. On the cover is engraved "*The plate of St. Martin.*" The paten is quite plain and measures 5¼in. in diam., and is inscribed "*St. Martin's.*" Round the base of the chalice is the following: "*Ex dono Gvlielmi Wickham. Episcopi Vintonia.*" William Wickham, the second Bishop of that name, was translated from Lincoln and filled the seat of Winchester for only ten weeks. He died in June, 1595, at his house in Southwark.<sup>1</sup> This date corresponds very well with the form of the plate. It will be noticed that the cover in this instance was not intended to serve also the purpose of a paten, as is usually said to be the case with Elizabethan chalices, but a separate paten was deemed necessary.

Another Paten, 6in. in diameter, quite plain, without hall-marks. At the back is engraved a small monogram, the letters T.R. combined. In front is inscribed "*Christopher Horte, Thomas Chiffinch, Church Wardens of St. Martin, Anno Domini 1620.*" This Thomas Chiffinch was probably an ancestor of a well-known character—

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<sup>1</sup> Wickham married Antonine, daughter of William Barlow, Bishop of Chichester. Her four sisters were all remarkable in having married bishops. Perhaps such another instance is not on record.

William Chiffinch—whose portrait will be found in the Council House at Salisbury. He was Master of the Wardrobe to King Charles II., and was a considerable benefactor to Trinity Hospital in that city.

A third Paten, with a foot, measuring 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. in diam. inscribed with the sacred monogram, also "*St. Martin's Sarum 1728.*" The date-letter is N. enclosed within a square shield, giving the year 1728. The maker's initials, G.S. (Gabriel Sleath).

A Flagon, with cover, 10in. high, plain and good, with a broad base tapering upwards. The date-mark is 1669; the maker's mark T.L. It is inscribed thus: "*This flaggon belongeth to the Parish Church of St. Martin in Sarum. William Antrum, William Ginaway Churchwardens 1670.*"

The Alms Dish is a fine piece of plate of the period of the Restoration. It was, no doubt, originally intended as a rose-water dish. It measures 18in. in diameter. The centre is plain, surrounded by a broad border very richly decorated with foliage and *amorini* in repoussé work. At some later period a large and cumbrous foot has been added to it. The hall-marks are: the black-letter capital **℄**., indicating the year 1662; the maker's mark, D.R. over a pellet, within a shaped shield. In the centre is engraved the arms of Hyde quartering Norbury, surmounted by an earl's coronet, shewing that it once belonged to the great Earl of Clarendon. Edward Hyde was born at Dinton, Wilts, he was made Lord Chancellor, with an earldom, by Charles II. in 1661. As the hall-mark shews that the dish was manufactured in the following year, it is thus one of the few remaining grandiose pieces which were so abundantly made for the court and courtiers immediately after the Restoration. The Chancellor lost favour and was exiled in 1667, and died abroad in 1674. This dish was presented to the parish in 1686, as appears by the following inscription at the back: "*The gift of Mrs. Alice Derham to the Parish Church of St. Martin in the City of New Sarum. Anno Dñi. 1686.*"

SALISBURY, ST. THOMAS THE MARTYR. The present plate in use is modern. Some few years ago the old pieces were "re-modelled,"

as at St. Edmund's, but the names of the donors of the old plate are retained by the following inscriptions on the new: "*Re-cast from previous gift by Augustine Abbat 1597, and Richard Eyre 1682.*" Also on others, "*Re-cast from previous gift by Henry March, 1689.*"

**SHREWTON.** A silver Chalice of the heavy seventeenth century form. It bears no regular hall-marks, but has the maker's cipher, the letters D.L. surmounted with foliage, within a shaped shield. The ornamentation consists of a band of roughly-engraved foliage in the Elizabethan style. Within this is a coat of arms of the Goodricke family. *Argent, on a fess gules one fleur-de-lys and two crescents or, between two lions passants guardants sable.*

**STAPLEFORD.** A Chalice of late seventeenth century form, measuring 8in. in height, also a Paten 5in. in diameter. They bear no hall-marks. On the chalice is engraved: "*+ William Hopkins + Richard Godyenn + Church Worddens. 1678.*" These pieces are in good condition, and of good bold work of its kind. They are evidently of the date of the inscription.

**STRATFORD-SUB-CASTLE.** A complete service of massive silver-gilt, consisting of a large plain Chalice measuring 10in. in height; a Paten, used also as a cover, 5½in. in diameter; a tall tankard-shaped Flagon, with handle and cover, having a broad base, 13½in. in height; and an alms dish, measuring 11in. in diameter. The hall-marks consist of the court-hand letter R., indicating the year 1712; the figure of Britannia; the lion's head erased; the maker's mark that of Benjamin Pyne, the letters P.Y. surmounted by a crown and a cinquefoil. Each piece has the sacred monogram graven on it, and at the bottom is unobtrusively placed the Pitt arms, *Sable, a fesse chequy between three bezants or, with a crescent for difference.* The donor, no doubt, was Thomas Pitt, who re-built the Church tower. This is commemorated by the following inscription, placed outside the tower: "*Thomas Pitt Esq<sup>r</sup> Benefactor. Erected anno 1711.*"

STRATFORD TONY. Chalice, measuring 8in.; straight sides, with slightly projecting lip and small base. The Paten, 5in., is of unusual form, being square with a shaped border. The hall-marks give the year 1731, with the maker's name T.R. Both pieces are inscribed: "*Deo et Ecclesie D.D. Johannes Bampton Rector de Stratford Tony et Canonicus Residentiarius Sarum.*" The donor was the founder of the Bampton Lectures. He became Rector in 1718, and died 1751.

TEFFONT EWYAS. A Chalice, without cover, of the usual Elizabethan form; but the ornamentation varies slightly, it has two belts of foliated strap-work round the drum, similar to one in the Church of Somerford Keynes. The date-mark is 1576, the same as that of the adjoining parish of Dinton. The maker's mark is not very evident, it seems to be the letter E with the figure used in musical notation for a flat, within a plain shield. A Paten, or alms plate, on central foot, with the edges gadrooned, 8in. in diameter. The date-letter indicates 1693, which year is also inscribed in the centre of the plate. The maker's mark is I.C. and a crown. A Tankard-Flagon. This is a fine silver-gilt early tankard, with handle and cover of Queen Elizabeth's time, probably not originally intended for ecclesiastical purposes; the sides are nearly straight, tapering slightly upwards; the ornamentation is delicately engraved in foliation, roses, circles, &c., not repoussé; the moulding on the base finely worked; the cover being surmounted by a flat rayed button. This interesting piece of old English plate measures 8½in. to the top of cover, and shows some signs of wear. The date-mark is the small black-letter **p.**, giving the year 1572. The maker's mark, a bunch of grapes within a plain shield. At the bottom of the tankard the letters cc. are found somewhat roughly engraved, apparently of early date. At Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is preserved a fine tall standing cup and cover made by the same hand and given to the College by Archbishop Parker in 1569.

WILTON. The Church plate now in use is quite modern. There is still preserved in the parish a large heavy pewter flagon bearing

the following inscription: "*Jehu Prancker, Elias Chalke, Chvrch Wardens, 1683. This Is Part of The Goods of The Church of Wilton.*" These ugly cumbrous vessels are still occasionally met with, and illustrate very forcibly the low state of art and indifference which prevailed at the end of the seventeenth century.

WISHFORD. An interesting Chalice or tazza-shaped cup is preserved here of a somewhat unusual form; the bowl is broad and rather shallow, taking something of the shape of an inverted cone. It has a baluster stem with full knop, and a small circular base. The height is  $5\frac{3}{4}$  in., the diameter of the bowl the same, the diameter of the foot  $3\frac{1}{8}$  in. The date-mark is a well-defined black-letter small **t**., indicating the year 1576. The maker's mark is a shield containing three leaves placed star-wise, with a pellet between each. The surface, with the exception of a narrow rim outside the lip, has been tooled or frosted over in fine lines, somewhat in the style which was in vogue about the middle of the following century. There is no other mark to indicate whether it was made for ecclesiastical or secular use. If it was intended for a chalice it is an interesting specimen of something like a retention of the old form—on the other hand it was made just at the time when Churches were abundantly supplied with the new Elizabethan cups and covers, which retained nothing of the old chalice and paten forms. Upon the whole the probabilities are that it is one of the elegant cups, made somewhat in the shape of the Venetian glass *tazze*, which came into use about 1570 and lasted till the outbreak of the Civil Wars.

A large Chalice of silver-gilt, the bowl having straight sides and a heavy low stem with broad foot. It measures  $7\frac{3}{4}$  in. in height.

A Paten, with foot, is  $5\frac{7}{8}$  in. in diameter. The hall-mark gives the date 1679. The maker's mark is a water bird within a dotted circle. This is, with one exception, the last instance known of the use of a symbolic sign for a maker's mark, unaccompanied by any initial letters. They hardly ever occur later than the commencement of the seventeenth century. On the foot of the chalice is inscribed: "*Dedicated to Wishford Church,*" and on the bowl the arms of Howe,







CHALICE, WYLYE CHURCH, WILTS.

Or, a fesse between three wolfs' heads couped sable, and the words "The Gift of Sir Richard Grobham How. Barronett."

A Flagon, with handle and cover, in silver-gilt, of the tankard form, very large and massive. One of a pair formerly existing. It measures 12in. in height, with a base diameter of  $7\frac{1}{4}$ in. The body is cylindrical, tapering slightly upwards, with a broad foot. The date-year is 1637. Besides the leopard's head and lion passant there are two other marks, the maker's R. and K. linked together, also another shield containing the numeral 6 and a capital B. surmounted by a sort of knot in the shape of a figure 8. On the foot is engraved: "*Dedicated to Wishford Church.*"

WYLYE. The Chalice in use here is a very fine one, as will be seen by the illustration opposite. It is of silver-gilt, and in excellent preservation. A good deal of the gilding has been toned down by use. It is  $6\frac{3}{4}$ in. in height, the stem and base being hexagonal. The bowl and foot are both of hammered work; the knob is repoussé, the heads, apparently female, are very well modelled, and have a good deal of the character of the late fourteenth century type. The usual crucifix is found on the base, with a large flower-bearing plant on either side. The hall-marks consist of the leopard's head crowned; the maker's mark, a sort of fleur-de-lys surmounting a vertical dotted stroke; and the date-letter, a Lombardic capital H. This indicates the year 1525, and this is apparently the correct date, as the chalice corresponds in many of its details with that brought from St. Alban's Abbey and presented by Sir Thomas Pope to Trinity College, Oxford, the date of which is given as 1527. There are not wanting, however, certain features which would incline one to put it at a somewhat earlier date. It must be remembered, however, that in the earlier years of the sixteenth century, just on the verge of the Renaissance, the rules which had previously influenced all architectural and ornamental details became a good deal relaxed. The inscription round the bowl has some curious defects in its spelling. Space did not serve for the whole of the sentence. It runs as follows: "+ CALICEM · SALUTARI · ACCIPIVM · ET · IN · NOM" (*sic*) Round the base is inscribed: "IN · DOMINO · CONFIDO." The Paten

belonging to this fine chalice no longer exists. In the list of "goods to be safelie kept," made by the Commissioners of Edward VI., in 1553, the following relates to this parish :—

	A Chalice or Cuppe	Bells	In Plate to the King's use
WEYLEYE	xij di	ijj	vij di

The parish accounts still preserved in Salisbury, and perhaps in many country places, would probably produce many curious and interesting details connected with Church arrangements. In the parish of St. Thomas the Martyr, Rolls of churchwardens' accounts exist from the time of Henry VIII. In St. Edmund's parish it is understood that an unusually early series of churchwardens' accounts are to be found, beginning with the reign of Edward IV. A selection from these, made apparently late in the sixteenth century, is to be found in the Record Office, extending from the first of Edward IV. to the twenty-fifth of Elizabeth. <sup>1</sup>

The churchwardens' accounts of the parish of St. Martin, at Salisbury, are still preserved to a great extent; of these some few extracts will be given. They commence A.D. 1567. At this period nothing like a church rate seems to have been in use; the income of the wardens came from a few small rents of tenements, certain charges for graves, tolling bells, seats in the Church, also the proceeds of the "holy loaf," usually collected by the clerk. This distribution of the holy bread amongst the congregation appears to be the continuation of a custom prevalent before the Reformation.

The following entries occur: "*Reaceved for ye holy lofe an<sup>o</sup> dmi* 1567" different sums varying from *iiij<sup>d</sup>* to *xx<sup>d</sup>* each month. In

<sup>1</sup> "Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series." *Addenda*, 1583, 1584. They chiefly relate to expenses in the Church and churchyard, window mending and cleaning, renovations and repairs for altar and other furniture, vestments, crosses, &c., and for books, purchase of holy water and christening oil; also for the clerk that sang the gospel, bread, cheese, and ale for the masters, &c., and wages for the officials. Amongst the entries are, 1st Edw. IV., "*For all apparel and furniture of players at the Corpus Christi*"; 10th Henry VII., "*Stalls and stations at the fair intra cemiterium et extra*"; 1551, "*Hauling away and plucking down of altars, rood lofts, tables, &c. The steeple plucked down, and all the expenses about it*"; 1554, "*Two mass books bought, the altars set up, an antiphone and two grayles bought*"; 1556, "*Rings to make Mary and John fast to the wall xiiij<sup>d</sup>*."

1568 "for the holy lofe x<sup>s</sup>. xj<sup>d</sup>." In January, 1569, "Item for ye holy lofe of ye clark vj<sup>d</sup>." The accounts for the next nine years do not exist, but in 1580 we find "Item, the holy loafe came to xxvij<sup>s</sup>. x<sup>d</sup>."; and again in 1585, "for holy lofe xij<sup>s</sup>. ij<sup>d</sup>." In the next account of 1588, and subsequently, receipts from the holy loaf are no longer found.

Mr. Peacock, in his paper on the churchwardens' accounts of St. Mary's, Sutterton, Co. Lincoln, mentions "holybred" in the year 1512, and says that the holy bread was distributed as long as the old services continued in use. The accounts of St. Martin's parish show that its practice was retained in the English Church long after the Reformation.

Mr. Peacock gives the following particulars relating to this custom: "This year [1512] the wardens bought ij 'holybred mawndes' for xd. This is an additional proof, if proof on such a matter be needed, that the holy bread or eulogia was almost universally distributed in this country before the Reformation. So frequent are the mistakes that are still made on this very simple matter that it may not be out of place to remark that this holy loaf had nothing whatever to do with the eucharistic elements, but that it was ordinary unleavened bread, such as was commonly eaten in the parish, which was blessed by the priest after he had said mass, cut into small pieces, and given to the people to eat. When the custom originated it is, in the present state of our knowledge, perhaps hardly safe to affirm. It was intended as a symbol of the brotherly love which ought to exist among Christians. Before the French Revolution we believe that this rite was practised over a great part of Western Europe. The *pain bénit* may still be seen distributed in several of the Churches in Paris. One of the demands of the Devonshire men, when they broke out into rebellion in 1549, for the purpose of resisting the changes in faith and ritual, was that they should have 'holy bread and holy water every Sunday.' The holy bread was distributed as long as the old services continued in use. Baskets for containing it are mentioned several times among the things removed as 'monuments of superstition' from the Lincolnshire Churches in the eighth of Elizabeth."

Some particulars of the usage concerning the holy loaf, which seems to have had its origin in the early ages of the Church, are also found in the "*Depositions and Ecclesiastical Proceedings*," published by the Surtees Society, 1845. In the course of some evidence given by a parishioner relating to a dispute as to certain rights of St. Margaret's and St. Oswald's, at Durham, about 1570, he says:—

"That about 30 yeres agoo, and sene, the inhabitants apperteyning to the chappell of St. Margaret's according as ther course fell, to have brought every Sunday ther hallybread caike in a towell open on ther brest, and laid yt downe upon the ende of the hye alter of St. Oswald's, and 1½*d.* in money also with the said caik; and the clerke toke the caik, and the proctor the silver; and after the caik was hallowed, the said clerk cut off a part of the said caike, cauld, the hally bred cantle, to gyve to ther next neighbour, whose course was to gyve the holly bread the next sonday then next after; and this order was comonly used of all the inhabitants apperteyning to the said chappell of St. Margaret's, so long as the order and gyving of the hollibred sylver dyd remaine, referinge hym to the Quene's boke."

In the earlier years of the accounts of St. Martin's are found sundry small sums, expended for "singing bread," for example, 1585, "*for singing breade iiij<sup>d</sup>.*"; also, in 1588, "*for singing brede ij<sup>d</sup>.*" This was essentially "altar bread," other bread was provided for ordinary communicants.

Previous to the Reformation howselling bread and singing bread are often found in old Church accounts. The howselling bread was the small bread used for the communion of the people, and the singing bread was the large bread used by the priest for the mass, so called, it is said, from the host, or unleavened bread, consecrated by the priest *singing*. In Queen Elizabeth's "Injunctions" it is ordered that the sacramental bread shall be "of the same fineness and fashion, though somewhat bigger in compass and thickness, as the usual bread and water heretofore named singing-cakes, which served for the use of the private mass." It was made into small cakes, impressed with the cross.

In the same accounts, from about 1570 to the end of the century, separate annual statements are given of the sums expended for sacramental wine in each month, and on the principal festivals of the Church. The following account of disbursements for wine

relate to the year April, 1589, to April, 1590. The cost of wine about this time will be seen by an extract from the accounts of 1603 :—

“Item—laied out for a quart of wyne for the communicants this viij day of May—viiij<sup>d</sup>.”

“Here ffolloweth the payments and layings out, and first for wine.

It—on the moneth of Aprill	...	...	...	ix <sup>d</sup> .
It—on the moneth of May	...	...	...	viiij <sup>d</sup> .
It—on Whit Sunday	...	...	...	x <sup>d</sup> .
It—on the moneth of July	...	...	...	viiij <sup>d</sup> .
It—on the moneth of September	...	...	...	viiij <sup>d</sup> .
It—on the moneth of November	...	...	...	xij <sup>d</sup> .
It—on Christmas day	...	...	...	xvj.
It—on the moneth of february	...	...	...	viiij <sup>d</sup> .
It—on mid-lent Sondaye	...	...	...	viiij <sup>d</sup> .
It—on passion Sondaye	...	...	...	xij <sup>d</sup> .
It—on palme Sondaye	...	...	...	ij <sup>s</sup> . x <sup>d</sup> .
It—to the sickle folke that did not receave on Munday				ij <sup>d</sup> .
It—on wednesday	...	...	...	iiij <sup>d</sup> .
It—on Thursday	...	...	...	iiij <sup>d</sup> .
It—on good frydaye	...	...	...	iiij <sup>d</sup> .
It—on easter even	...	...	...	xvj <sup>d</sup> .
It—on easter day	...	...	...	vj <sup>s</sup> . viij <sup>d</sup> .
It—on easter monday	...	...	...	iiij <sup>d</sup> .”

In the same churchwardens' accounts of St. Martin's for the year 1582 a whole page is devoted to the particulars of expenses for removing and re-casting one of the Church bells, at a cost of £5 2s. The bell, curiously enough, seems to have changed its sex during the process of re-casting. It still exists, and is the fifth of the present peal of six. It was cast by John Wallis, one of the early Salisbury bell-founders, who worked from about 1581 to 1633 (see article on Church bells by the Rev. W. C. Lukis, in the 2nd vol. of this *Magazine*). The bell bears the following inscription: “*Be mec and loly to heare the Word of God.* 1582. I.W.”

The entry is as follows :—

“charges Aboute the new Bell

It—for unhangng of him	...	...	...	xiiij <sup>d</sup> .
It—for drawing him to the Bellfounders house	...	...	...	xj <sup>d</sup> .
It—for bringing the Bell to church	...	...	...	xviij <sup>d</sup> .
It—for getting of her up and hanging of her	...	...	...	iiij <sup>s</sup> . vj <sup>d</sup> .
It—for castinge the Bell to John Wallis				iiij <sup>s</sup> . vj <sup>s</sup> . viij <sup>d</sup> .”

Sundry other items of expense bring the cost to the sum above-mentioned, as is expressed at the bottom of the page:—

“The whole paid aboute the new bell vi. ij<sup>s</sup>.”

A curious instance of the retention of an old custom of pre-Reformation times, and still in use in all Roman Catholic Churches, will be found in the diocese of Salisbury. At Wimborne Minster it is still the practice to use the long strips of white linen which were spread along the altar rail when the communion was administered to the congregation. These are still called, as in old times, *houueling*<sup>1</sup> cloths. There being no altar rails at Wimborne Minster it has always been the custom there to lay the houseling linen on three or more benches, which are arranged across the chancel, and which form, in fact, a sort of altar rail, the communicants coming up from the body of the Church to kneel at them. This practice, as far as the writer is aware, is not retained in any other Anglican Church.

In the seventeenth century there are numerous instances of the consecration of Church plate. The chalice belonging to the parish Church of Streatham bears an inscription to this effect, A.D. 1686. It was one of the charges against Archbishop Laud that in his chapel he was seen to “consecrate some plate.” Laud justifies himself by saying that “in all ages of the Church there have been consecrations of sacred vessels as well as of Churches themselves,” and that the form he used was not according to the *Missale Parvo*, but the “Form” provided by Bishop Andrews.

From the Church books preserved in the parish of St. Saviour’s, Southwark, it appears that from about 1530 to the middle of the seventeenth century it was customary to issue certain metal tokens to all parishioners who had partaken of the holy communion. In 1556 occurs an entry of an order of vestry that the wardens shall cast tokens and keep lists in token books. Apparently a house-to-house visitation was made, with a view of compelling every person

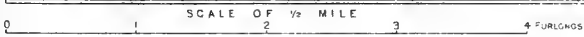
<sup>1</sup> To *houe*le, in old English, meant, to administer the sacrament. The ghost of Hamlet’s father exclaims:—

“Cut off even in the blossoms of my sin,  
Unhousell’d, disappointed, unanel’d.”





# SILCHESTER.



- Block I with kitchen ----- (Joyce)
- " II ----- ( " )
- " III Radiating hypocaust built over site of a fire—Strong Box --- ( " )
- " IV ----- ( " )

to take the sacrament. In the year 1596 two thousand tokens are accounted for at two pence each. The money so gathered seems to have been used for charitable purposes, but it is not clear whether the people named really went to the sacrament, or whether the contribution alone made amends. Something analagous still exists amongst the Presbyterians in Scotland.

[The thanks of the Society are due to Mr. Nightingale for taking upon himself the cost of the plates which illustrate his paper, and to the Society of Antiquaries for the loan of the wood-block of the Berwick Chalice. (ED.)]

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## Silchester.

[Read before the Society at Andover by the Rev. R. H. CLUTTERBUCK, August 16th, 1883.]

**B**ELIEVE I shall best meet your views by expressing, in the fewest words I possibly can, what it is you are to see at Silchester; leaving for abler hands all discussion on controverted points, and all allusion to other than matters of observable fact.

Silchester, then, is the walled site of a Roman city. It is situated almost on the very border of Hampshire, near Mortimer Stratfield, in Berkshire.

The commonly-received opinion is that it is Calleva of the Itineraries.

Mr. Coote, in his most valuable work, "The Romans of Britain," thinks that it was the civitas of a territory which may have been the present Hampshire.

You will observe there are four roads starting from the forum, N., S., E. and W. These roads, says Mr. Coote, are the inchoate limites maximi which extended through the territory of the colony. The road through the east gate led to Londinium by Pontes (Staines). That through the south gate to Venta Belgarum (Winchester), and also to Sorbiodunum (Old Sarum), through Vindomis, which Sir R. C. Hoare considered to be Finkley, in my parish. Through the west gate the road led to Aquæ Solis (Bath), by Cunetio, and also to Corinium by Spinæ. The walls enclose about 100 acres. They

are from 10ft. to 15ft. high, and  $1\frac{3}{4}$  miles in circuit, with a fosse which, though now encumbered with *debris*, is still in many places 100ft. in breadth, and 12ft. or 14ft. in depth. There are several springs, so that part of the fosse is generally filled with water, of which the city must have had a good supply.

There are, of course, the four gates. The actual form and dimensions of the east gate were made out by careful excavation. The entrance was 28ft. wide, and on the left side a semicircular tower was found. Within the entrance were two guard-rooms, each of which measured 7ft.  $\times$  5ft.

The southern gate was found to have been flanked by two lofty columns, with moulded caps and bases, supporting a pediment beneath which the chariots and horsemen would pass—the road for pedestrians being on either side. You will be able to see parts of these columns and the guard-room.

On the south side there are traces of a small postern, or sallyport, running beneath the wall, and called by the country people "Onion's Hole," from a fabled giant of that name, who is said to have selected Silchester as his residence. In honour of this mythical personage coins frequently dug up here are locally styled "Onion's Pennies." They were thus denominated even in the days of Camden.

About 150 yards from the north-east angle of the wall is the amphitheatre, which has an area of about 2000 yards—the second largest in England. The two vomitoria are clearly visible. The seats appear to have been arranged in five rows one above another, the slope between each measuring about 6ft. A deep hole on the south side is supposed to have been the cave or den where the wild beasts were kept.

Near at hand is an ancient well.

You will observe that the walls differ from the ordinary type in that the usual bonding bricks are here replaced by a layer every 2ft. 5in. of the Lower Green Sandstone. Some of the sandstone is from Oxfordshire, and some of the Oolite used is from Bath.

Inside the walls excavations were first made in 1864, under the superintendence of the late Rev. J. G. Joyce.

I do not think it will be at all to your present purpose to give

any detailed history of the excavations. You will find them in a paper by Mr. Joyce, in No. 40 of the "Archæologia."<sup>1</sup> The excavations have enabled us to form a very accurate view of the general laying out of the city, which is the rectangular plan we are familiar with from the writings of the agrimensores.

The first excavation was made on the site of one of the smaller streets. The house was apparently of humble character. Amongst the articles found in it was part of a millstone and part of a water jug, carefully mended.

Afterwards excavations were made on the main street, where the houses were of a better class, but much less luxurious than the ordinary Roman villa.

There is reason to think that the town was burned in the time of Constantius Clorus, when it was stormed and afterwards destroyed. There is indication of some re-building after fire. The mortar used within the town was very poor and in contrast to that of the walls.

Two hypocausts have been disclosed of ordinary character. It is a very curious circumstance that the chief pavements appear to have been carefully taken up and removed—by whom it is impossible to guess. We are familiar with Roman pavements in England which were brought from Italy. Those found at Silchester were probably made in the neighbourhood. Tools used by the workmen in making them have been found.

The chief interest of the excavations centres in the forum, which measures 276ft. × 313ft., and is now completely excavated. Its shape is that of a parallelogram, and it is surrounded by an ambulatory or porticoed piazza from 12ft. to 15ft. in width. The walls which enclose the whole area are about 3ft. in thickness. Beneath the forum were discovered the remains of a sewer.

The area is divided by a wall into two distinct sections, the forum and the basilica. Shops were ranged on either side of the gateway and along the northern side of the courtyard towards the basilica. One had apparently been used as a wine shop, another as a

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<sup>1</sup> See, too, "Memoir on Silchester," by Henry Maclauchlan, in the Journal of the Royal Archæological Institute, vol. viii., pp. 227—243; and additional notes by Mr. Albert Way, pp. 243—246. [ED.]

fishmonger's, another as a butcher's (in which were found flesh hooks and the remains of steelyards), another had been a poulterer's.

The basilica was a noble building with a well-defined apsidal end on the south. On one side were several large rooms. One was the *ærarium* or treasury or public record room—seals were found there. Along the eastern side was a row of columns with foliated capitals.

The hall of justice was 60ft. in breadth, by 276ft. in length, and all along one side there is an interior foundation, seemingly for the support of the stone pillars of a gallery for an audience. In one of the small rooms to the left of the basilica was found a Roman legionary eagle. It is now at Strathfieldsaye. The golden wings had been wrenched off, and the bronze body was found beneath 10in. of burnt wood.

The remains of a sixteen-sided temple have been disclosed of about 60ft. in diameter. It is surrounded by an ambulatory, but there are no traces of columns, nor has any altar been found.

I should have mentioned that in one of the houses there was found the remains of a strong box.

The parish Church of St. Mary, Silchester, is built within the walls. It was restored in 1877. There are some Norman columns, a carved oak screen, two piscinæ, two aumbries, a tomb under a recessed arch, and on the top of the Roman wall close by are effigies, one military and one of a lady, which most likely came from the Church.

There is a museum within the city walls in which are some articles found during the excavations, and plans of the basilica.

A useful guide, price one shilling—from which I have borrowed freely—may be had of the curator.<sup>1</sup>

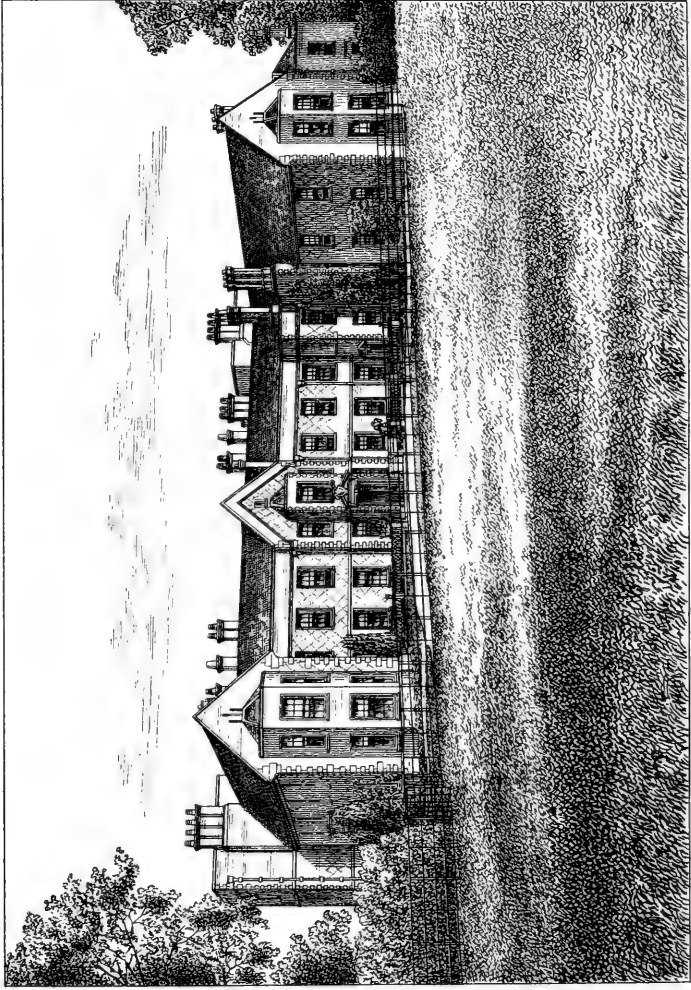
The cemetery has not been discovered.

I do not think I can say more that will be useful to you, and I can but wish you success when you get to the site in recognizing the various excavations, for that is the chief difficulty, practically. If you do that you cannot fail to enjoy your visit.

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<sup>1</sup> The Editor desires to record his obligations to Mr. Jacob, of Basingstoke, the spirited publisher of the above-named admirable guide, for his ready permission to reproduce the Plan of Silchester given herewith, and to make other use of the guide.





W. & A. G. & Co. Litho. London.

T H E V Y N E .



## Some Account of the "Vyne," Gants.

**T**HE Vyne is said by some to derive its name from vines planted here by Probus, the Roman Emperor; by others from Vindomis, the lost Roman station, which lay either between Reading and Winchester, or between Silchester and Winchester. Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Akerman have identified the Vyne with Vindomis (the first syllable of which it retains), and, if this be so, the existence of a house here is carried back to the Antonine Itinerary, in which Vindomis is mentioned. A Roman ring was found by Chaloner Chute near the Vyne, about 1780, and was exhibited at Somerset House in 1785. It bears the uncommon name of Senicianus, and it is a remarkable coincidence that the same name is mentioned in connection with the loss of a ring by one Silvianus, on another Roman inscription, at Lydney, in Gloucestershire. Other apparently Roman remains have been found in the grounds. The ring is still at the Vyne.

Nothing is known of any Saxon settlement, except that Domesday Book says that Ulvevn held Sherborne (the parish in which the Vyne stands) in the time of Edward the Confessor. At the Conquest it became part of the lands of Hugo De Port. In the reign of King John the lord of the manor of the Vyne obtained leave to build a chantry in his grounds, the parish Church being a mile distant, and to maintain a priest; it was further endowed by Sir T. de Cowdray, lord of the manor, with the license of Edward III. and existed until the present chapel was built. A well-preserved corbel from the old chantry is kept in the ante-chapel.

The present house was built by Lord Sandes, in the reign of Henry VIII. The picture of Henry VIII. by Holbein is in the hall, as also is that of Charles Chute, the father of Chaloner Chute, the Speaker, who purchased the house from the Sandys family about the time of the Restoration.

John Chute, descended from Chaloner Chute, and the friend of

Gray and Horace Walpole, built the "theatric" *staircase* in the Grecian style, which leads to the Library, where are portraits of Chaloner Chute and his wife, Lady Dacre, daughter of Lord North. Here is a print of the Great Seal of England in Chaloner Chute's time, consisting of a map of England and Ireland, in which "The Vine" is marked, probably as a compliment to Mr. Chute.

Next the Library come the Tapestry Rooms; and then the *Upper Long Gallery*, with carved oak panels, representing the crests or devices of the leading men of Henry the Eighth's reign, such as Archbishop Warham, Cardinal Wolsey, Bishop Tunstall, Bishop Fox, and many Tudor emblems. The *Lower Gallery* (formerly an orangery), like the upper one, contains marble statues and interesting pictures. The *Drawing Rooms* contain many reminiscences of Horace Walpole and Gray, a collection of china, and a Florentine cabinet, brought over by Horace Walpole.

In the *Dining Room* are sometimes shown a Basingstoke Race Cup, won by Edward Chute, son of the Speaker, in 1688, and a silver cup, given to Chaloner Chute for his able and courageous defence of the bishops at the commencement of the Civil War.

The Billiard Room has handsome linen panelling, and some good portraits, especially one of "Winifred the Nun of Cufande," about 1700, and the Cufande pedigree hangs near it, which commemorates the intermarriage of the grand-daughter of the Countess of Salisbury and niece of Cardinal Pole with a member of the family of Cufande, whose estates now form part of the Vyne estate. This pedigree was shown at Burlington House in 1882, and is of great interest to antiquaries.

The ante-chapel has good sacred pictures and stained glass, including some relics of a window formerly put up in the Holy Ghost Chapel at Basingstoke, by Lord Sandes, who added to it the chapel of the Holy Trinity about the same time as he built the Vyne. The *Chapel* contains windows which are much admired, the subjects being sacred, and in the lower lights Henry VII., with his Queen, and his daughter Margaret, with their several patron saints. Here are some curious tiles and elaborate oak carving, especially the frieze. In "Dolman's Domestic Architecture" the chapel and the upper

gallery are fully described. A mausoleum was built on to the chapel by John Chute, which contains a work of art by Banks, the sculptor, a marble figure of Chaloner Chute, the Speaker, in repose, with inscriptions and coats of arms. A room can be seen looking into the chapel from above, which was probably the end of the series of state rooms where were lodged Henry VIII., who more than once visited Lord Sandes here, and Queen Elizabeth, who came here in her progress, in the eleventh year of her reign, and who sent the French Ambassador, the Duke de Biron, here in 1601, with a retinue of thirty knights and three hundred attendants.<sup>1</sup>

## Appointment of Overseers, with instructions to see that Paupers wear a badge.<sup>2</sup>

[Communicated by the Rev. CANON GODDARD, Vicar of Hilmarton.]

### “ WILTS TO WIT.

“ WE whose names are under-written, Justices of the Peace for the said County of Wilts, do (by virtue of the Statute in such case made) nominate and appoint you Benjamin Downy and Wm Chivers, of the parish of Hilmarton in the said County (together with the Church-Wardens thereof), to be Overseers of the Poor for the said Parish, for the year ensuing: And you are to take notice, that the Law requires you to meet (at least) once in every month of the said ensuing year, in the *Church*, upon some *Sunday* in the Afternoon, to consider of some course to be taken for *Relieving the Poor*; and that you enter in a Book to be kept for that Purpose, the Names of all Persons receiving Relief, and the Occasion that brought them under that Necessity: and that you take care that every person receiving Relief, and the Wife and Children of every such Person, cohabiting in the same House, do, upon the shoulder of the right sleeve of the uppermost Garment, legally wear, in an open and visible manner, a *Badge* or *Mark*, with a large Roman P., together with the first Letter of the Name of your Parish, cut, in Red or Blue Cloth; for that no Person not wearing such *Badge*, as aforesaid, and in Manner as aforesaid, are by Law to have Relief; but are for their Neglect

<sup>1</sup> The illustration of the Vyne is from a photograph kindly lent by the author of the above paper, and owner of the fine old mansion, Mr. Chaloner William Chute.

<sup>2</sup> The above document will not only interest but surprize many people, bearing, as it does, so late a date as 1755. [ED.]

or Refusal, to be sent to *Bridewell*, or their Pay to be stopt. And further, if you the said Officers do, or shall relieve any Poor Person, not Having and Wearing constantly such *Badge*, you forfeit, for every offence, Twenty Shillings, to be levied by distress.

“ALSO, You are to take care, that you place out Poor Children Apprenticed within your Parish, whose Parents are not able to keep or maintain them : And, also (with the consent of Two Justices), to take order for the setting of the Poor of your Parish to work ; and for the raising, by Taxation, a convenient Stock for that purpose.

“*Lastly*, All Rates and Assessments, for the Purposes aforesaid, are to be confirmed by the two next Justices of the Peace, and Application (in all cases) to be made to them where Refusal of Payment of Rates and Assessment happen, that *Warrants of Distress* may be obtained as the Law directs. Given under our Hands and seals this 16th Day of April in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred fifty-five.

[*Here follow the seals and signatures of*]

“JOHN TALBOT    Ⓢ  
“J. ROLT            Ⓢ”

## S. James, Abbury.

**AS** I am in a position to give information upon two important points in the history of this Church which were revealed in the course of operations carried out before Mr. Ponting took charge of the restoration, I beg to submit the following remarks.

Mr. Ponting then, observes (p. 191 of the last number of this *Magazine*): “The nave probably terminated at the east end with an apse”; and again, at p. 193, he expresses his inability “to discover any reliable indication of the original floor-level.”

But we found positive evidence upon both of these points in the early stages of our restoration. Thus in excavating the floor of the nave for the heating-chamber we found the original floor-level at a depth of two feet below the present floor, which is that of the twelfth century ; there we found a layer of mortar upon the virgin soil, as a bed apparently for flag-stones, whilst that was covered by an artificial accumulation of earth and stones up to the present level.

Then we found the remains of the Saxon chancel in a wall of about 12ft. in length, on the south side of the chancel, the inner face

of which was 16in. within the present chancel wall, and which was smoothly plastered on its inner surface to the depth of the original floor-level of the nave. The eastern extremity of this wall had been broken through, probably for the purpose of making a vault; so that the chancel was evidently not apsidal, but of a similar character to those of S. Lawrence, Bradford-on-Avon, and S. Mary le Wigford, Lincoln.

I may here call the attention of visitors to a rude piece of sculpture which is now placed inside the porch, and which was found built into the east wall of the chancel. This consists of the representation of the Heavenly Father giving benediction to the Son, who is embracing the cross, and was doubtless one of the decorations of the Saxon Church, as a similar piece of sculpture, found amongst the remains of another Saxon Church, has been described by the late Mr. J. H. Parker.

In conclusion, I would offer here an observation upon the probable origin of those very peculiar circular openings in the north wall of the nave, which are accurately described in Mr. Pouting's paper. They have, as he has pointed out, an arrangement for a cradle of "wattle-and-daub" work, in order to continue the internal splay of the opening into the Church; but then the question occurs, "What could be the object of such arrangement in a stone wall, in which that splay might so easily be continued in the stone-work, as it is at present in the central opening?"

Does not this peculiar arrangement unmistakably point to the inference that these circular openings were the windows of a still earlier *British* Church of "wattle-and-daub," and that when that Church was replaced by the Saxon Church of stone, these openings were utilized in their present position, for the purpose of giving a glimmer of light within the building when the larger Saxon windows were obliged to be closed by their shutters, through stress of weather?

If this inference be correct, then—as Avebury was certainly one of the very earliest inhabited spots of Britain—so in these very peculiar openings we have the remains of one of the very earliest Churches of the Kingdom.

It may not be out of place if I record here one of the most interesting circumstances which has occurred in the restoration of this, or perhaps of any other, Church.

There is a monument in the chancel to John Truslow, who died in 1593, to whom the old manor house of "Avebury Truslowe" belonged, as well as a pew of carved oak in the north aisle. Some fifteen years ago I received a letter from one of this name in New York, who stated that he had been reading a work of Britton, in which it was stated that the Church of Avebury contained a monument of the Truslowe family, and enquiring whether this monument was still in existence. I was able to give him some information on the subject of the family, from our registers, and eventually to supply him with copies of two wills of the family, one of them executed on the eve of his voyage (apparently to the United States).

Subsequently to this, no fewer than six members of the family from the States have on three several occasions visited Avebury and inspected the monument and manor house. On one of these occasions I informed the visitor of my intention to convert the old Truslowe pew into choir stalls; and now I have just received the sum of £25, which has been contributed by members of the family in the United States for this adaptation of the pew which was made for their ancestor some *three centuries ago*.

BRYAN KING.

*Avebury, Calne,  
Easter Eve, 1884.*

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*Erratum.*

At page 172, line 16, Ford, Dorset, should be Ford, *Devonshire*.

END OF VOL. XXI.

28.9.84

# WILTSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

Account of the Receipts and Disbursements of the Society, from the 1st January to 31st December, 1883,  
both days inclusive.

## GENERAL ACCOUNT.

DR.	1883.	RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	CR.
	1883.	To Balance brought from last account:—				
	Jan. 1st.	Consols	150	13	9	
	Dec. 31st.	Cash	101	2	1	
			251	15	10	
		“ Cash, Entrance Fees and Subscriptions received from Members during the year... 169 11 0				
		“ Transfer from Life Member-ship Fund .....	3	0	3	
		“ Cash received for Sale of Magazines.....	172	11	3	
		“ Ditto ditto for “Jackson’s Aubrey”	10	3	9	
		“ Ditto ditto for Admission to the Museum	6	3	6	
		“ Dividend on Consols .....	7	10	6	
			4	10	0	
			£452	14	10	
		“ Miscellaneous expenses at Museum .....	19	18	0	
		“ Attendant at ditto .....	23	8	0	
		“ Insurance.....	3	13	0	
		“ Land and Property Tax ...	2	6	1	
		“ Commission, &c. ....	49	5	1	
		“ Balance:—	19	5	11	
		£150 Consols, cost	150	13	9	
		Cash .....	86	18	3	
			237	12	0	
			£452	14	10	

## LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND.

DR.	1883.	RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	CR.
	1883.	To Balance brought from last account .....				
	Jan. 1st.	“ Bank interest .....	29	6	1	
	Dec. 31st.		0	16	2	
			£30	2	3	
		By one-tenth to General Income Account,...	3	0	3	
	Dec. 31st.	“ Balance .....	27	2	0	
			£80	2	3	

Audited and found correct,  
14th July, 1884.

ROBERT CLARK, }  
HENRY CALF, } *Auditors.*

WILLIAM NOTT,  
*Financial Secretary.*





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\* \* A bye-law of the Committee determines "that when any No. of the *Magazine* is reduced to twenty copies, the price of such No. be increased; the price to be determined by the Librarian."—10s. each is now charged for such of the ordinary Numbers as are so reduced, and £1 for the 4to "Stonehenge."

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